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LITURGY

EDITORIAL

ANAPHORA OF THE APOSTLES IN THE SYRO-MALABAR CHURCH

- Rev. Dr. G. Vavanikunnel

THE FORMATION AND STRUCTURE OF EASTERN PENITENTIAL LITURGIES

- M. Anikuzhikattil

ESCHATOLOGICAL DIMENSION OF THE SYRO-MALABAR QURBANA

- Dr. Thomas Mannooramparampil

BOOK REVIEWS, NEWS

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Editorial

This issue of the Christian Orient consists of three articles.

Anaphora of Addai and Mari which is used in the East Syrian liturgy is considered to be the most ancient Eucharistic liturgy to which we have access today. Though not composed by Addai and Mari, it is the development of their teaching regarding the Christian sacrifice. The place of its origin, its relation with other liturgies, its introduction into the Malabar Church, its Pre-Diamper history etc. are still the object for dispute and discussion. The present form of the Qurbana is the result of the additions to and the modification of its original stratum. This anaphora in its original form is believed to have originated in Edessa for the use of the Jewish Christians there under the direct influence of the Jerusalem liturgy. Ethnical, cultural, commercial, spiritual, hierarchical relations, common language and Jewish colonies here may have motivated its introduction into the Malabar Church. Since it originated within the East Syrian Church of which the Church of St. Thomas was a part, it can in no way be considered foreign. It is not Chaldean but Edessan. There is no evidence that it was imposed on the Church by an external power. On the other hand, there is ample reason to conclude that it was freely accepted by Thomas Christians who esteemed it as their own. These and other related ideas are developed by Rev. Dr. George Vavanikunnel in the first article.

There is an increasing interest among the scholars regarding the history of the sacrament of reconciliation. It has assumed different forms in history in the mode of its administration. Rev. Dr. Anikuzhikattil studies the form of auricular confession as it is administered in different Churches.

In the third article Rev. Dr. Thomas Mannooramparampil deals with the eschatological dimension of the Syro-Malabar Qurbana. The traditional themes of eschatology which enumerate death, judgement, heaven, and hell as the ends of individuals and the last day, the resurrection, final judgement and the end of the world as the last things of mankind generally neglect the major items in the eschatology, namely, Christ and the Church which have become the most important themes of eschatology in the Qurbana. Christ is the new Adam, because He is the new man and the Church is the eschatological community since she is the last in which God acts once and for all. The time of salvation has been inaugurated in her, the final consummation of which will be realized only in the future.

The Church is already under the reign of God. She is divine bride whom Christ sanctifies and beautifies through His divine means and through the process of history. Christ and the Holy Spirit dwell in her and guide her to the eternal bridal chamber.

The liturgical community has the same dimensions as those of the Church. The earthly Eucharistic assembly to which the heavenly beings join together prefigures that one celestial Church after the parousia.

This tension towards the future does not imply a despising of or flight from the world but demands the right involvement and use of it so as to make it serve as the means for the achievement of the final goal. Since the postparousiac life is the continuation of the present life, the sanctification of and the concern for this life and the world is greatly imperative for the Christian life.

The Editor

Anaphora of the Apostles in the Syro-Malabar Church

The Syro-Malabar Church is making use of the 'Anaphora of the Apostles' for her eucharistic celebration. Though there are two more anaphoras under the names of Theodore and Nestorius they are not yet made available for use at present.¹ Among these three anaphoras the first one is the most ancient, important and commonly used. In this article we are trying to investigate the origin and early development of this anaphora. We shall try to see where, when and how it was formed originally. We may further discuss how the Christians of St. Thomas in India especially in Malabar possessed

it and preserved it as their own proper liturgy and not as something foreign which was imposed upon them. The Thomas Christians have always considered their liturgy and especially the eucharistic liturgy as the most important part of the "Law of St. Thomas" their father in faith and founder of the church. Is it not then a liturgy which is ultimately coming from and connected with St. Thomas the Apostle? Then the liturgy of the Syro-Malabar Church especially her eucharistic liturgy can rightly be called "Liturgy of St. Thomas the Apostle".

1. These three anaphoras were used in the Malabar Church till the synod of Diamper in 1599. Anaphora of Theodore was used from the first Sunday of the period of Annunciation upto the Palm Sunday while the anaphora of Nestorius was used only five times a year namely, on the feast of Epiphany, John the Baptist, Greek Doctors, Wednesday of the Ninivites and on Maundy Thursday. These two anaphoras were prohibited by the synod of Diamper under pain of excommunication in its 2nd Decree on the doctrine of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. The decree reads: "Whereas in the Missals of this Diocese there are some Masses that were made by Nestorius, others by Theodorus, and others by Diodours their Master, which are appointed to be said on some certain days, and which, carrying those Names in their titles, are full of Errors and Heresies; the Synod doth command all such Masses, entire as they are, to be taken out, and burnt, and in virtue of obedience, and upon pain of Excommunication *Latae Sententiae*, doth prohibit all Priests from henceforward to presume to use them, ordering them to be forthwith cut out of their Books, and at the next Visitation to be delivered by them to the most Illustrious Metropolitan, or to such as he shall appoint to correct their Books, that so these Masses may be burnt". Cfr. Geddes, *The History of the Church of Malabar*, London, (1694) P. 245.

The Title of the Anaphora

When we look into the printed texts, we find that the title of this anaphora is given differently in different Missals: "The First Qudasa", "Qudasa of the Apostles", "Qudasa of the Holy Apostles Mar Addai and Mar Mari Doctors of the East" etc. But it is very interesting to note that in most of the ancient texts we do not find the names of Addai and Mari. There it is simply called "The First Qudasa" or "Qudasa of the Apostles". The oldest known manuscript of this anaphora is that of Mar Esaya, discovered from the library of Mar Esaya church in Mosul, which is of tenth or eleventh century. In this also the title of the anaphora is "Qudasa of the Apostles" and the names of Addai and Mari are absent.² Anterior to this oldest known manuscript there are different commentaries of this anaphora from the fourth and fifth centuries onwards. The commentators also do not speak about Addai and Mari. Is it then an addition made to the real title of this anaphora after 10th or 11th century? I am inclined to think so which is also supported by the Maronite version of this anaphora.

The Maronite version of the Anaphora of the Apostles

In the Maronite version of the Anaphora of the Apostles we do not find the names of Addai and Mari added to the title though it is diff-

erently entitled such as "The Anaphora of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles". The Anaphora of the Disciples for the Assumption of the Mother of God—the Apostles gathered and each of them chanted a G'hanta or simply "Anaphora of the Apostles". It is also called very simply "Sarrar" which is the first word of the first prayer of the pre-anaphora.³ The absence of the names of Mar Addai and Mar Mari in the title of the Maronite version of this anaphora is also an indication that these names are later additions to the proper title which is simply "Qudasa of the Apostles".

If these names are inserted into the proper title of this anaphora later on when was it done? We are not absolutely sure about it. There is however an indication in a 11th century document in which it is said that "The Mass of the Apostles was composed by Addai and Mari and the Catholicos Iesus-iab has abbreviated it".⁴ This is perhaps the first evidence which we have about the composition of this anaphora by Addai and Mari and following this information the original title might have been elaborated later with the addition of the names of Addai and Mari Doctors of the East whom the East Syrian Church considered as their Apostles.

Importance of the original title

The original title "Qudasa of the Apostles" is of greatest importance

2. W. F. Macomber, The oldest known text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari, OCP 32 (1966) P. 335. Mar Esaya is a church in Mosul from where this manuscript was discovered.
3. W. F. Macomber, The Maronite and Chaldean versions of the Anaphora of the Apostles, OCP 37 (1971) P. 79. Cfr. Also I. E. Rahmani, Les Liturgies Orientales et Occidentales, Beyrouth (1929) P. 317. The author says that this anaphora is called also among the Maronites 'Anaphora of St. Peter'.
4. Rahmani, Op. cit. P. 338. This document which Rahmani speaks about is that of Ibn-el-Tayeb (+ 1043).

with regard to its origin and development. The very title takes us back to the Apostolic times and to the Apostolic nucleus of the eucharistic celebration which is known as the "breaking of bread". It is in the Acts of the Apostles that we find this nucleus or the very first form of the eucharistic celebration of the church in the Apostolic times.⁵ The first Christians devoted themselves to the teaching of the Apostles and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers. This in fact is the primitive nucleus of the eucharistic liturgy and this was common to all the Apostles. Wherever the Apostles went there was this celebration of the breaking of bread in fellowship with prayers and praising of God (Acts. 2,42-47). The prayers and praising of God must have been different in different places and according to the different Apostles but the essential elements must have been the same everywhere. So the eucharistic celebration of the Apostles or the breaking of bread performed by the Apostles must be the same for the whole college of the Apostles with the differentiation in prayers and other items according to the specific qualities and experience of particular Apostles. So the "Qudasa (Anaphora) of the Apostles could mean the Qudasa of the whole college of the Apostles or of the twelve Apostles. This is called in the Maronite version "Anaphora of the Apostle Peter, Prince of the Apostles". In Aramaic or Chaldean or Syrian could and should it not be called the "Anaphora of St. Thomas, Apostle of the Orient" or simply 'Anaphora of St. Thomas'.

This anaphora, used in all the churches belonging to St. Thomas, was given to them by their common father in faith either directly or indirectly and therefore it can rightly be called the "Anaphora of St. Thomas the Apostle" or again as it is done in the Maronite version simply "Anaphora of the Apostles". We have already seen that the names of Mar Addai and Mari were added to the proper and original title only at a later period as a further elaboration since they were considered as the Apostles by the East Syrians. Now if these names are of a later addition then it would be more correct to call this anaphora as the "Anaphora of St. Thomas the Apostle" or simply as "Anaphora of the Apostles" given by St. Thomas the Apostle. Whatever be the later development, the Anaphora of the Apostles used in all the Churches of St. Thomas was in its essential and original form given by St. Thomas himself and therefore it is ultimately the "Liturgy of St. Thomas the Apostle".

The place of origin and development

It is now generally agreed that the Anaphora of the Apostles was composed, in its original form, in Aramaic and in an Aramaic speaking region. Discussing the evolution of this anaphora, W. F. Macomber says: "The first step in the process of evolution was the original composition of the anaphora somewhere in the Aramaic-speaking regions in Syria..."⁶ According to Gregory Dix this anaphora "was not originally a translation from the Greek but was composed in Syriac"⁷. If it is so, the

5. Acts, 2, 42.

6. W.F. Macomber, The Maronite and Chaldean versions... OCP 37 (1971) p. 79

7. Gregory Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, London (1964) p. 180. Besides, Gregory Dix says: "But it is of unique interest and importance none the less, because it is basically still a semitic liturgy, the only remaining specimen of its kind. It is cast in a different idiom of thought from that of the

place where it was composed must have been a stronghold of Aramaic language and culture. In the first century after Christ Edessa was the most important centre of semitic or Aramaic culture and language. Gregory Dix further says: "Edessa was a semi-independent state... a strong centre of Semitic culture and tradition..."⁸. Therefore in all probability the Anaphora of the Apostles was originally composed in Aramaic in Edessa and not anywhere else. The Chaldean Church has received it from the Edessan Church later on developing it further and giving to it definite shape.

Edessan not Chaldean

There are people who think that this Anaphora of the Apostles is of Chaldean origin which is not at all true. The Chaldean Church itself has adopted it from Edessa about which Macomber has the following: "It may be asked when the anaphora was introduced into the Chaldean Church. The reply would seem to be at the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century, when relations with the west would have been easier. More particularly, I would suggest the year 410, when, at the first general synod of the Chaldean Church it was decided that henceforward the eucharistic liturgy should be celebrated according to the occidental rite which the Bishops Isaac (Chaldean

Catholicos) and Marutha (of Maipher-qat) have taught us. Another possibility, however, should be recognized, namely, that the anaphora was introduced into the Chaldean Church by the graduates of the school of the Persians, which has been transferred from Nisibis to Edessa shortly after the former city was ceded to the Persians by the Roman Emperor Jovian in 363. Edessa was the cultural capital of the Christian Aramaic-speaking world and one may suppose that this Anaphora was well known there"⁹. If the Chaldean Church has adopted it from Edessa how can anyone say that it is of Chaldean origin? People make use of this term Chaldean and attribute it to our liturgy simply to create some aversion to the present liturgy of the Syro-Malabar Church. This accusation of a Chaldean origin of our liturgy is only a purposeful trick played by those sponsors of 'One Rite' and 'One Liturgy' for India in recent years. Saying that the Syro-Malabar Liturgy is Chaldean and therefore foreign which was imposed upon us the simple people are cheated to some extent making them despise their proper liturgy. But we have already seen that it is not of Chaldean origin. Of course it may be called Chaldean only in the sense that the Chaldeans also make use of this liturgy as any other church belonging to St. Thomas the Apostle. This

eucharistic prayers of the hellenistic christianity..." p. 178. Further he makes two important remarks: 1) So far as can be ascertained the biblical texts which underlies the scriptural citations in this prayer is not a Greek text but one of the Syriac versions... It would appear certain, therefore, that unlike most other Eastern vernacular rites, Addai and Mari was not originally a translation from the Greek, but was composed in Syriac. 2) Whatever may be the case in the opening address of the prayer and certain phrases elsewhere, the body of this eucharistic prayer is undoubtedly addressed not to the Father but to the Son" p. 180. Eucharistic prayer addressed to the Son is a mark of its great antiquity.

8. Ibid. p. 177.

9. Macomber, The Maronite... OCP 37 (1971) p. 79.

purely semitic and aramaic Anaphora is certainly from that cultural capital of the christian Aramaic - speaking world which is Edessa.

Beginning of Christianity in Edessa

Edessa, the modern Urfa in Turkey was the Capital of Osrhone, an independent state which was founded in 136 B. C. The kings were called Abgar or Manou. It remained an independent state till the middle of the 3rd century. The conditions here were very favourable to an early evangelization of this country and the surrounding places in Mesopotamia.

There were many jewish communities in Edessa and Mesopotamia since 6th century B. C. who were brought as captives by Nabuchodonosor. After 80 years of captivity majority of these Jews stayed on in Mesopotamia. These Jews were also waiting for the fulfilment of the Messianic promises. Besides, the Magi who came from the East to Bethlehem to adore and worship Jesus are said to be from Mesopotamia and at their return to their country they might have certainly shared the good news of the birth of the Messiah, the promised Saviour and their own experience at Bethlehem.

According to the Acts of the Apostles Parthians, Medes, Elamites and the dwellers in Mesopotamia were among those who heard the miraculous speaking of the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. Most of them were probably Jews and when they returned to their country they might have announced the good news they have received. It is possible that these Mesopotamians also were among those who received baptism on the very day of Pentecost.

Besides, the language spoken at this time in Mesopotamia especially in Edessa was Aramaic which was the language spoken by Christ and His Apostles. The neighbouring Greeks called Aramaic language 'Syriac' and the Arameens were called 'Syrians' because for them and for the Jews Arameens and Aramaic were synonyms for 'gentile'. So the Christians also preferred to be called Syrians and their Aramaic language as Syriac. The Hebrews at the time of Christ were also speaking Aramaic and it was quite normal that in Palestine Aramaic was called Hebrew, in Syria, Syrian or Syriac; in Babylon the capital of Chaldea Chaldean; and in Assyria Assyrian. So at present the Aramaic is called also Chaldean, Syriac, Assyrian etc. but the original name of the language is Aramaic. It was this Aramaic or Syriac which was spoken at Edessa in the early centuries. All these factors might have contributed to the early evangelization of Edessa and Mesopotamia.

In addition we have the story of King Abgar V (9-46) of Edessa who is reported to have corresponded with Jesus inviting Him to his country and requesting him to heal him from his sickness. The letter which Jesus is said to have sent to Abgar through Ananias seems to have been preserved in Edessa with great veneration in which Jesus informed the king that He would not come there personally but He would send one of His disciples later on who would cure him. The fourth century pilgrim Etheria reports that she saw the statue of this king Abgar in Edessa and the Bishop there was so kind as to read out the letter of Jesus to her¹⁰. This exchange of letters is considered to be legendary and fabricated later yet

10. Etherie, *Journal de Voyage*, Paris (1948) p. 171. We may reproduce here the letters of Abgar and Jesus from J. B. Segal, *Edessa, 'The blessed City'*, Oxford (1970) p. 62ff.

this might be intended to reveal the early existence of Christianity in Edessa.

St. Thomas the Patron of Edessan Church

The Edessan Church venerates St. Thomas the Apostle as her patron. He is said to have passed through Edessa on his way to India. It is said that St. Thomas has deputed his disciple Thaddeus or Addai to evangelize that region together with Aggai and Mari. Historical documents are not available to prove that St. Thomas was ever in Edessa or Mesopotamia but the Edessan Church always venerated St. Thomas as her patron. Did he only pass through Edessa without staying there and evangelizing there? It is rather difficult to believe especially in the case of St. Thomas with his ardent love, dedication and missionary zeal. He might have certainly

stayed there and founded the church himself. His coming to Edessa might have been facilitated by the various reasons of language, Jewish colonies etc. which we have already mentioned above. Therefore the coming of St. Thomas in Edessa and his evangelization there may not be simply discarded. St. Thomas reached Malabar only in A.D. 52 according to the Malabar tradition. Where was he then up to this time. He is not a man to be idle. He must have been somewhere announcing the good news of the Kingdom of God as he has experienced it. No other place has any thomistic tradition except Edessa and Mesopotamia. Therefore due weight is to be given to the Edessan apostolate of St. Thomas. From Edessa other places also were evangelized and all of them considered St. Thomas as their patron as is the case with the Chaldean and Persian Churches¹¹.

"A copy of the letter written by Abgar the toparch to Jesus and sent to him at Jerusalem by the courier Ananias:

"Abgar Ukkama, the toparch, to Jesus the good Saviour who has appeared in the district of Jerusalem, greeting. I have heard concerning you and your cures, how they are accomplished by you without drugs and herbs. For, as the story goes, you make the blind recover their sight, the lame walk, and you cleanse lepers, and cast out unclean spirits and demons, and you cure those who are tortured by long disease and you raise dead men. And when I heard of all these things concerning you I decided that it is one of two things, either that you are God and came down from Heaven to do these things, or are the Son of God for doing these things. For this reason I write to beg you to hasten to me and to heal the suffering which I have. Moreover, I heard that the Jews are mocking you, and wish to illtreat you. Now I have a city very small and venerable which is enough for both of us".

The reply from Jesus to the toparch by the courier Ananias:

"Blessed are you who believed in me, not having seen me, for it is written concerning me that those who have seen me will not believe in me, and that those who have not seen me will believe and live. Now concerning what you wrote to me, to come to you, I must first complete here all for which I was sent, and after thus completing it be taken up to Him who sent me; and when I have been taken up, I will send to you one of my disciples to heal your suffering and give life to you and those with you".

11. F. Alichoran, *Missel Chaldeen* Paris (1982) p. 249ff.

There is an opinion that the name of Thomas is confused with that of Thaddeus or Addai. Some think that all these are the same person, St. Thomas the Apostle¹². If so whatever is attributed now to Addai will have to be said of St. Thomas himself. In the list of the succession of the bishops and Patriarchs of the Ayro-Chaldean Church the first name is that of St. Thomas and the second is that of Addai and the date given is A. D. 37¹³. If both these names are of one and the same then the date 37 onwards could mean the stay of St. Thomas there in Edessa and Mesopotamia and from there he came to India in A. D. 52. The coming of St. Thomas to India in 52 and his work in Edessa and Mesopotamia can be then better explained. If not we have still to find out where the Apostle Thomas was working up to his arrival in India.

The Martyrium of St. Thomas the Apostle in Edessa

Edessa is called the "blessed City" of the "City of the Apostle Thomas"¹⁴. Whatever and however be the direct apostolate of St. Thomas in Edessa, it is a historical fact that the bodily remains of St. Thomas was transferred from India to Edessa. Etheria in her journal speaks about her visit to the church in Edessa where the martyrism of St. Thomas was honoured and venerated with great devotion. Etheria is writing towards the end of the fourth century. She says that this church of St. Thomas is very big, very beautiful and recently built really a house worthy of God. It was on 22nd

August, 394 that the bodily remains of St. Thomas was solemnly brought and kept in this church. As she says that this church is very big, beautiful and recently built we may conclude that the Edessan christians built it precisely in honour of St. Thomas for keeping his relics in it. Etheria further reports that no christian who goes to visit the Holy Land will go back without going to Edessa to pray precisely at the martyrism of St. Thomas the Apostle where his whole body is kept. This is the reason why she also went there. Besides there are so many things to be seen and therefore she stayed there for three days. She speaks about the holy bishop there and the innumerable holy monks who stay there near the church and away from there in their interior hermitages. From this report we can know that there was a very flourishing christian community in Edessa from the early centuries.

The great attraction of all the pilgrims to go to Edessa was the martyrism of St. Thomas the Apostle there. St. Thomas was martyred in India and was buried in Mylapore. Why did the Thomas Christians of India permit the Edessans to transfer the bodily remains of their beloved Apostle to Edessa and why did the Edessan Church took so much interest to keep his relics there even constructing a new, big and beautiful church there? It is unthinkable that the Thomas Christians would ever permit the Edessan Church to transport the relics of their Apostle to Edessa if these two churches were not so closely and intimately linked

12. Segal, *Op. Cit.*, p. 65ff. Cfr. also Martin J. A. Gielen, *Thomas the Apostle*, Unpublished, Venlo, p. 26ff.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 288.

14. The very title of the book of Segal is Edessa, 'The blessed City'. The title of another book by A. F. J. Klijn is 'Edessa die Stadt des Apostels Thomas', Neuenkirchner Verlag, 1965.

together by their common father in faith, St. Thomas the Apostle. The great veneration of the Edessan Church only confirms the Apostolate of St. Thomas there directly or indirectly through his disciples. Therefore, there is every reason to call Edessa as the City of St. Thomas the Apostle. It may be noted here that no martyrism of Addai was to be found in Edessa at the time of Etheria. If Addai was the founder of their church would they not have built a church in his honour and kept his martyrism there? Therefore St. Thomas the Apostle himself might have been the founder of the Edessan Church and the person of Addai could be perhaps the same person of St. Thomas himself as some would think. Whatever be the beginning of christianity in Edessa it is certain that in the first centuries the Edessans had a great devotion to St. Thomas the Apostle and they have venerated him as their patron.

The Eucharistic celebration of the Edessan Church

The first christian communities wherever they were certainly assembled together in a common place to worship God and to take part in the breaking of bread. It was precisely in this breaking of bread that they had the eucharistic experience of Christ. The communities of Apostolic origin might have followed the form of eucharistic celebration according to the directives given by the Apostles themselves.

Basing on tradition and available sources of information we may say that besides the Judeo-Christian communities in Edessa the whole kingdom became christian. These christians either directly or indirectly received the original form of their eucharistic liturgy from St. Thomas the Apostle and they remained always

faithful to his spirit and directives in their worship. St. Thomas being a jew and speaking Aramaic might have been certainly inspired by jewish way of giving praise, honour, glory and thanksgiving to God. This specific form of worship belonged to the chosen people and therefore it belongs to the revelation and to the history of salvation, which is firmly based on Bible. Further, St. Thomas being the witness par excellence of the resurrection of Jesus, his experience of the risen Lord and his expression of deep faith in Him might have certainly found expression in the liturgical celebration of the early christian communities in Edessa. The Apostle might have given the same form of worship wherever he had gone.

The New Testament is the continuation and culmination of the Old Testament with the paschal mystery of Christ at its summit. This divine plan found in the Bible remained the main source of christian life and worship of the early christian communities in Edessa and Mesopotamia, the land of Abraham the father of the chosen people. The Semitic or Aramaic language and culture were prevalent there. Therefore on cultural level as well as in language, prayer forms, gestures, symbolism etc. this church remained faithful to their main source, Bible. This is the reason why the Qudasa of the Apostles used in this church for the eucharistic celebration is through and through biblical. It is completely based on the worshipping forms of the chosen people in prayers, gestures, rites, symbolism, language, architecture etc. This Qudasa of the Apostles had its origin in Edessa, the city of the Apostle Thomas and its further development was always according to the constitutive spirit, genius and style given by the Apostle himself which were thoroughly biblical and judeo-christian. This Qudasa of the

Apostles is the most important one in all the churches belonging to St. Thomas for their eucharistic celebration.

Common heritage

This Qudasa or Anaphora of the Apostles is a common heritage of all the churches of St. Thomas whether it is in Edessa, Chaldea, Persia or Malabar. This is a common possession of all these churches hailing St. Thomas as their patron or even founder. Therefore this liturgy is neither Edessan nor Chaldean nor Persian nor Syro-Malabar but it is the liturgy of St. Thomas the Apostle. It may be called Edessan, Chaldean, Persian or Syro-Malabar etc. as long as the churches in these places use it for their eucharistic celebration. This is however a common treasure or patrimony received from our common father in faith, St. Thomas the Apostle.

Eucharistic liturgy of the Thomas Christians in Malabar

St. Thomas the Apostle reached Malabar and established christian communities here. As in Edessa here in Malabar also there were jewish communities in the early centuries. The work of St. Thomas might have been first of all among these jewish communities and then among the natives. The christian communities thus originated from St. Thomas both in Edessa and in Malabar might have had the same form of worship which as we have already seen was well based on biblical prayer forms, mentality, gestures, rites, melodies, symbolism, architecture etc. Though these churches were geographically and socially different, in worship they had the same spirit, form and characteristics because of their common source. The eucharistic celebration of the Thomas Christians, therefore, could not be other than that of the Edessan

Christians. These two sister churches, in Edessa and in Malabar, were certainly in close relationship from the very beginning because of their common father, St. Thomas the Apostle.

Already before the christian era there were commercial connections between the Middle East and Malabar. This might have facilitated the ecclesiastical contacts as well. The Edessan Church was aware of the apostolate of St. Thomas in India and the Malabar Christians might have heard from St. Thomas himself about the church in Edessa. Therefore there must have been contacts between these two churches from a very early time. Due to this relationship between these churches the form of worship in both the churches must have followed a common pattern. Here and there the worshipping forms must have been handed down by the Apostle himself and therefore both these churches might have had the same liturgy from the very beginning. The development of liturgy was a slow process in the whole church and in the churches of St. Thomas it must have been always according to the directives and the essential forms obtained from St. Thomas.

The development of the eucharistic liturgy in the churches of St. Thomas

The eucharistic liturgy of the churches of St. Thomas was basically constituted and shaped in its primitive form by St. Thomas himself. The underlying basic structure, spirit, prayer forms, gestures etc. must have been ultimately from the Apostle based on the worshipping forms found in the Bible. The biblical forms of prayers and worship are suitable to any church and no christian will ever say that Bible is foreign unsuitable, irrelevant and meaningless to him or to the present time. The most important eucharistic liturgy of the

churches of St. Thomas is the "Qudasa of the Apostles" which is basically biblical in its prayer forms, symbolism, structure, gestures etc.

All the liturgies in the Church were developed through the centuries mainly in the Apostolic and Patristic periods. Anaphora of the Apostles is no exception to this common fact. Basing on the constitutive elements given by St. Thomas the Apostle the eucharistic liturgy of the christians of St. Thomas was further developed by his disciples and by the early Fathers of the Church. From Edessa the neighbouring places were also evangelized and all these churches had this same eucharistic liturgy as their common heritage. The Edessan church was flourishing in the very first centuries as the whole kingdom was christian and therefore the circumstances were very favourable there for the development of the liturgy. There are evidences that the whole christian life in Edessa was fully based on the Bible and even their ordinary prayers were so much inspired and influenced by the biblical forms and the Word of God¹⁵. If so how much more their liturgical prayers must not have been biblically oriented? The Bible and the biblically inspired liturgy must have been the main sources of the Christian life.

Such a strong biblically inspired christian life must have greatly contributed to the early development of the eucharistic liturgy in the East especially in Edessa. The Western Church was persecuted in the first three centuries which was not the case with the church in Edessa where

the church was free to grow in every respect. Therefore the development of the eucharistic liturgy could take place in Edessa quicker and easier than in the church of Rome. Hence the Qudasa of the Apostles may be considered as the most ancient anaphora in the whole of christendom. An internal analysis of the structure and prayers also reveal it. The Anaphora of Hippolytus of Rome was considered to be most ancient anaphora available at present but now there are liturgists who think as a result of their studies and researches that in its original form the Anaphora of the Apostles is the most ancient one.¹⁶ The further development of this anaphora took place gradually and its present shape was finally fixed by the Patriarch Isoyab III (649-659). The two other anaphoras of Theodore and Nestorius were introduced into the East Syrian Church in 6th century by Patriarch Mar Aba I (540-52). As we have already seen it is the Patriarch Isoyab III who fixed the number of anaphoras in the East Syrian Church to three namely Qudasa of the Apostles, of Theodore and of Nestorius which are also known as the first, second and third Qudasa.

The centres of studies and the development of the Liturgy

Already in the third and fourth centuries there were many monasteries and innumerable monks in and around Edessa and the whole of Mesopotamia about whom Etheria speaks in her journal. Besides, there were at this time many centres of learning mainly attached to these monasteries. Nisibis, Edessa, Seleucia - Ctesiphon, Hira,

15. Etherie describes the prayer they used to make whenever they entered a church: First they make a prayer, then a passage from the Genesis is read followed a Psalm then again another prayer and finally the blessing of the bishop. Etherie, p. 173.

16. Louis Bouyer, *Eucharistic*, Tournai (1966) p. 146-160.

Kashkar, Rima, Erbil, Meru, Arzoun etc. are some of them. The most famous were those of Nisibis and Edessa called also the Persian School. The university of Nisibis was founded by Jacob of Nisibis at the beginning of the fourth century. St. Ephrem, Maroutha, Sahdona, Babai, Aba and son are of this school who in their turn founded other schools all over Mesopotamia and in the Persian Empire. St. Ephrem founded the university of Edessa in 363.

These schools and universities contributed much to the later development of liturgical and spiritual life of the Christians. Through the effort of these great and holy fathers of the church the liturgy might have taken definite shape. The fifth century commentary of Narsai clearly shows that the eucharistic liturgy of this church was fully developed which is almost the same as it is found at present¹⁷. Constituted by the Apostle Thomas and developed by the Fathers of the church this liturgy was already prescribed to be the official liturgy of the Syrian Church in the synod of Seleucia by Mar Isaac in 410. It was this eucharistic liturgy known as Qudasa of the Apostles which was the common possession of all the churches of St. Thomas in the early centuries including Malabar. Later on the other two anaphoras were also added. All these three anaphoras were used in the Malabar Church till the synod of Diamper in 1599. The synod has prohibited the use of the anaphora of Theodore and Nestorius under pain of excommunication and they were pulled out from the Missal and burnt. The anaphora of the Apostles was

subjected to latinization on the pretext of correction¹⁸.

The Christians of Malabar and the Law of St. Thomas

The Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar held this liturgy as their own and they had a great esteem for it. They have considered their eucharistic liturgy as the most important part of the patrimony they have received from St. Thomas the Apostle which they have called as the "Law of St. Thomas". There is no evidence at all that the Thomas Christians in Malabar ever had any liturgy other than this common liturgy of all the churches belonging to St. Thomas. The situation in the first centuries in Malabar unlike that of Edessa was not at all favourable for developing the liturgy here. Even if they could it would not have been different from that which was developed in Edessa because of the basic form given by St. Thomas. Hence, the Thomas Christians in Malabar might have been happy to welcome the liturgy developed in Edessa as their own proper liturgy esteeming it as coming down from their Apostle. They could never consider it as something foreign to them.

Neither foreign nor imposed

There are people now in the Syro-Malabar Church who think that this liturgy is foreign and was imposed upon them by the Chaldean Church. They say even that this Chaldean liturgy was brought here in the fourth century by a group of people who came here from the Chaldean

17. The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai, Texts and Studies Vol. viii Cambridge (1909), Repr. 1967, p. 1-32.

18. Geddes, Op. Cit., p. 231. The corrections made in the anaphora are given in the decree of the Synod.

Church. No one denies the arrival of people from the Chaldean Church to Malabar at various times. A fourth century migration might have taken place as a result of the persecution of the Persian King Shahpuhr II (SAPOR) who started persecuting the christians there whom he considered his enemies and allies to the Roman Emperor. Shahpuhr attacked Mesopotamia and he has besieged Nisibis three times in 338, 346 and 350. This terrible persecution lasted for 40 years and hundreds of thousands of christians were mercilessly killed. There is also an opinion that this migration took place as a result of a vision Mar Joseph of Edessa had about the Malabar Church. During this time of persecution it was only normal that the christians from there went over to their sister churches including Malabar. This only shows the good and close relations between these churches in Malabar and Mesopotamia.

But to say that our liturgy was brought by them and it was imposed upon us by them is ridiculous and against all available sources of information we have about the origin and development of this liturgy. Should we think that our fore-fathers were so foolish as to give up their own proper apostolic liturgy for something less important, unsuitable and foreign? Or can we even imagine that the group of people who came in the fourth century from the Chaldean Church were so powerful and mighty as to impose their liturgy on us? Historical facts are against it. On the contrary even the very possibility of such a migration to Malabar could be thought of, explained and understood only on the basis of the same worship they had in common. Those who came from abroad and those who received them here had the same form of worship and it is precisely in this that they have their common heritage. In worship they formed one community and this uniformity in worship might have been

the main factor behind 'this coming' and 'welcoming'.

Besides, our liturgy is not at all originated in the Chaldean Church as we have already seen. It was of Edessan origin from where the Chaldean Church also had adopted it. The whole church in Mesopotamia came to be known as Chaldean or Syrian later on. We have seen that Arameen and Aramaic were called by the Jews and the neighbouring Greeks Syrian and Syriac because for them Arameen was a synonym for gentile. So the christians themselves preferred to be called Syrians. In any case it is not at all correct to say that our liturgy is of Chaldean origin. True that the Chaldean Church also had the same liturgy as the Malabar Church as a common heritage ultimately from St. Thomas the Apostle. This common patrimony made the contact and interrelationship possible between these churches. To say that this liturgy is foreign to the Malabar Church by the Malabarians themselves is really suicidal and it only reveals the ignorance of the early development of liturgies in the Church. Liturgies were developed and took definite shape in main centres and the same liturgy is used by churches in different places especially when these churches have a common source of origin and development. This is the case with the churches of St. Thomas. The liturgy originated and developed in Edessa is common to the Edessan, Chaldean, Persian and Malabar churches and this is only normal in matter of worship. Each church considers it as its own proper liturgy and not as something foreign or imposed by others.

We may think of a reverse in this matter. Let us suppose that the Edessan Church did not have the favourable circumstances for developing the liturgy and the Malabar Church had them. In this case the Edessan Church could and would

have received the liturgy developed in Malabar as their own as it is coming from their patron without considering it as foreign or imposed. But the fact is just in the reverse. The Malabar Church did not have the early favourable conditions of the Edessan Church and therefore the liturgy was developed in Edessa from where all the churches of St. Thomas possessed, preserved and used it as their own. It is not the place of development but what is developed which is important. Is this not a liturgy which is ultimately coming from St. Thomas the Apostle as a common patrimony of all the churches belonging to him? Such an apostolic origin and development, even if it is indirect, are of greater importance than the place of its origin and development.

Further, let us suppose that his liturgy was imposed upon the Malabar Church by the Chaldean Church at any time. It is only quite normal that when something is imposed upon the people they would certainly make use of the first chance to get rid of it. In our case history proves otherwise. When the missionaries in the 16th century tried to mutilate or destroy the liturgy of the Thomas Christians in Malabar they have vehemently protested and stood against all such endeavours. It is unnecessary to describe it in any detail since it is widely known. Our fore-fathers esteemed this liturgy as their own and as a part of the "Law of St. Thomas". If it were considered as something imposed they would have been only happy to do away with it when the missionaries offered them the latin liturgy. In fact all the troubles started in the Malabar Church when there was an attempt to impose the latin liturgy on the St. Thomas Christians in Malabar. The Thomas Christians were furious and fought against all such latinizations of their

liturgy and other ecclesiastical customs proper to them. This being the fact, how can a true Thomas Christian say that his liturgy is foreign or imposed upon him?

Conclusion

In conclusion, we may say the following: The Anaphora of the Apostles which is common to all the churches of St. Thomas is ultimately the Anaphora of St. Thomas the Apostle himself. The insertion of the names of Addai and Mari is of a later period. This anaphora was developed in the Edessan Church from where all churches belonging to St. Thomas possessed, preserved and used it as their own genuine and proper liturgy. It is fully based on Bible and on the worshipping form of the chosen people as well as on the unique Christ-experience of St. Thomas the Apostle and on his faith expression in the risen Lord. As it is a common possession of all the churches of St. Thomas it is neither Edessan nor Chaldean nor Persian nor Syro-Malabar. It may be called under all these names according to the place where it is used. It is the proper liturgy of all these churches and ultimately it is the liturgy of St. Thomas himself. The Thomas Christians in Malabar did not have any liturgy other than this liturgy common to all the churches of St. Thomas and their most ancient anaphora is the anaphora of the Apostles which is also the most ancient in the whole christendom. It is absolutely wrong to say that this anaphora is of Chaldean origin since the Chaldean Church itself has adopted it from Edessa. Besides, it is against historical facts and even against common sense to say that this anaphora was imported to Malabar by the Chaldeans in the fourth century and it was imposed upon the Malabar Church.

Rev. Dr. G. Vavanikunnel

The Formation and Structure of Eastern Penitential Liturgies

The Catholic Church is not an institution or an establishment of the West alone. It is a universal phenomenon. It is a communion of many individual Churches. Each individual Church and its patrimony, though it is its own, belong to the common heritage of the universal Church. In the case of the sacrament of penance, it is a false concept to hold that what the Latin Church has formulated is the absolute form of the sacrament. It is only one expression of the different traditions of the Church. The divine mercy and forgiveness are gifts of God and granted to the Church. The experienced and expressed form of its administration and understanding, need not be in the same way, in all cultures and peoples. In the history of the Church, we find these variations. Sometimes the external form of one individual Church has been imposed on another equally important apostolic Church, and its traditions misunderstood and labelled as heretical and non-sacramental. With regard to the East Syrian and Thomas Christians, the Latin Church has taken

a negative approach. It is a fact that the Latin Church after the tenth century, has gone its own way, neglecting other Christian traditions.¹ As a result, it became very poor in its biblical and patristic heritages. But in the legal and conceptual definitiveness it grew far enormously.² This applies particularly to the liturgy and theology of the sacraments.

In order to have a clearer view of the application of the Gospel message of repentance and forgiveness in the universal Church, we need to briefly survey its practice in the Eastern Churches as well. Their understanding and way of practising will enrich us to have a better approach to its present situation. When we find some differences in their practices other than the Western pattern, we should not conclude that their position is not "Catholic". For the Eastern Churches also have the right to appeal to apostolic tradition with as much right as the Latin Church³. The validity of the Eastern traditions is recognized despite the extent to which it differs

1. NIKOLASH, F., "The Sacrament of Penance: Learning from the East", in *Concilium* 7, 1 (1971) 65-75.
2. Vatican Decree on Ecumenism, art. 14-18.
3. The East Syrian Church and the Malabar Churches were misunderstood in their penitential system. Many denied the existence of the sacrament of penance among them. Cf. DALMAIS, I. H., "Le sacrement de penitence chez les Orientaux", in *LMD* 56 (1958) 22-29. It is being questioned and disproved by Nikolash in his article cited above (note 1).

from that of the West. It is made clear by the Vatican decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches. For, it permits the Catholic to ask for the sacraments of penance, eucharist and anointing of the sick even from the non-Catholic ministers.⁴ The extent of the validity of the administration of the sacrament cannot be determined on the basis of Western conceptions, nor according to decisions made by the Councils of Florence and Trent alone. Very often the decisions were not well balanced nor the results of an openness to all traditions. On the contrary, many decisions were the product of some reactions and urge for uniformity as well as formalism. The findings of the Council of Vatican II are of particular significance for the sacrament of penance; because the understanding of the sacrament of penance among many of the Eastern Churches differs from that of the West. As we go through the eastern penitential history, we find variety of forms and rituals for the administration of the Gospel message of repentance.⁵ In this article we try to

see the similarities in their understanding and practices. So a structural and formulary analysis and comparative view will aid us to understand them better.

The Penitential Liturgy in the Churches of the East⁶

While in the Latin Church, there exists till 1973 only one form i. e. the private confession which is called the auricular confession,⁷ in the East we can find a variety of forms. In the West, until recently, it had hardly a liturgical presentation. It is wholly individualistic, and more person-oriented.⁸ In the East, we find the communal aspect being emphasized more. For secret sins they had private confession but always it had a communal reconciliation as far as possible. Even the private confession has its formulas derived from early communal liturgies. But the main concern of the Eastern Churches in the sacrament of reconciliation is that the community animated by the Holy Spirit may become operative. This

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4. Vatican Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches, art. 27 and Decree on Ecumenism, art. 15.
 5. KIRK, D., "Penance in the Eastern Churches", in *Worship* 40, 3 (1966) 145-164. "The Eastern practice has remained richer and less formalized than that of the West and has retained many features which link it with the life and faith of the early Church".
 6. MATEOS, J., "L' office monastique ala fin du IVeme siecle: Antioch, Palestine, Cappadoce," in *OC47*, 4 (1963) 53-88; DALMAIS, I. H., "Le sacrement de penitence chez Orientaux," p. 22-29; LIGIER, L., "Dimension personnelle et dimension communautaire de la penitence en Orient," in *LMD* 90 (1967) 155-188; LIGIER, L., "Le sacrement de penitence selon la tradition Orientale," in *NRT* 89 (1967) 940-967.
 7. The *Ordo Paenitentiae* gives three forms of reconciliation (1973). But the document on *Reconciliatio et Paenitentia* (1984) seems to favour the one form of auricular confession only.
 8. Even the West cannot claim for its origin. This form came from the East. It was John Cassian who brought it into the West and introduced it in the Gallican and Celtic Churches and in monasteries. Cf. MITCHELL, G., "The Origins of Irish Penance," in *ITQ* 22 (1955) 1-14, p. 11.

community character of celebration makes the administration of penance more dynamic and effective.⁹

1. The Liturgy of Private Penance (Confession) – Greek (Byzantine) Liturgy

In the Byzantine liturgy, the divine office and its celebration has relationship with the present rite of private confession. For, the practice of private confession in this Church was chiefly a consequence of monastic influence.¹⁰ It is also plain that the rites of private confession carry the impression of those 'hours' that themselves have a confessional character. It is very evident in the morning office that began the day (orthros) and compline, the prayer that ended the day.¹¹ St. Basil the Great stressed the confessional character of the Orthros and explained it well. That was the reason for the inclusion of the penitential Psalm 50 as a part of it. "With its words the praying man should express his attitude of penitence."¹² In all liturgies and divine offices¹³ of the Eastern Churches, this psalm is part of the orthros. That

shows how strongly accentuated was the confessional character of this "Hour." The same can be said about the compline in the Byzantine liturgy. The rule of the monastery of "Studion" which states that during the morning office the abbot should proceed to the place where he will hear the monk's confessions,¹⁴ shows how the liturgy of the office with psalms, prayers, readings and so on, gave rise to an independent rite of private confession. In St. Euthymios' monastery confessions were heard during compline at the end of the day.¹⁵ In the course of time, these monastic rites gave rise to private confession in that region. It was offered not only to the monks but to believers from outside the monastery. This tradition was carried over to the West by monks in the Celtic Church and other parts of Europe. The Byzantine tradition was taken over to the Russian Churches too.¹⁶

2. The Coptic Liturgy

The situation within the Coptic liturgies was different. When the

9. PUTHANANGADY, P., "The Sacrament of Penance and Reconciliation," in *Vidyajothi* 47, 1(1983) 18-23.
10. MATEOS, J., "L' office monastique a la fin du IVeme siecle: Antioch, Palestine, Cappadoce," p. 53-58; VANDE PAVARD, F., "La penitence dans le rite Byzantine," in *QL* 53, 3 (1973) 191-203.
11. LIGIER, L., "Le sacrement de penitence selon la tradition Orientale," p. 164-167.
12. MAR BASIL THE GREAT, Letter 207 to the priests of Neo-Cesarea. Cf. MATEOS, J., "L' office monastique ala fin du IVeme siecle: Antioch, palestine, Cappadoce," p. 84-85.
13. The Malabar Church does have it in the "Sapra" (morning prayer) as a preparation for the holy mysteries.
14. PG 99, 1712, MAR BASIL, *Constitutiones Studitanae* 22.
15. HAUSHERR, I., *Direction spirituelle en Orient autrefois*, Rome, 1955, p.18.
16. HERMAN, E., "Il piu antico penitenziale greco," in *OCF* 19 (1952) 71-12-; MORINUS, J., *Commentarius Sacramenti Paenitentiae tredecimi primis seculis in Ecclesiae Occidentali*, Paris. 1651, p. 75-100; the monastic canons are given on p. 101-124.

Byzantine monasteries were situated in the cities, the monks of Egypt (Alexandria) went out into the desert where they could live a life of self-denial and striving for perfection. As a consequence, their rites had no influence on the confessional liturgy of the Coptic communities. Instead, this was supplied by the eucharist. Origen has already emphasized the importance of the eucharist for the forgiveness of sins.¹⁷ Thus in the older rituals the confessional rite includes various prayers taken from the eucharistic liturgy.¹⁸ The structures of their rite of reconciliation is as it follows: First there comes the "Our Father;" the admonition of the deacon to inclination; one priestly prayer for the purification while the congregation stands in inclination and followed by a benediction; and again the admonition of the deacon to stand attentively and fearfully. The priest says the prayer of absolution. The congregation calls out "God alone is holy."¹⁹ In the eucharistic liturgy the Copts also have an incensing service with the penitential rite. Today they practise the rite of private confession which has hardly any connection with the communal celebration. Today the priests neither prays the "Our Father" and its embo-

lism nor the succeeding prayer from the preparation for communion. But only the petition for the forgiveness of sins is addressed to the Father.²⁰

3. The Antiochean Liturgy

In the case of the Antiochean (West Syrian) liturgies, the rite of private confession has no immediate connections with either the office or the eucharistic liturgy. The three formulas used today include a liturgy of the Word with readings and prayers taken from the so-called "incense rite" (*sedre*).²¹ It is exercised through the prayer of supplication for forgiveness rather than through a juridical act of absolution.²² In the case of the West Syrian Church too we can see that there is a connection with the communiterian liturgy.²³ The structure of the West Syrian Churches too indicate a communiterian celebration. The Maronites have their forms of administration as it follows: It begins with "Our Father", the admonition of deacon for inclination, it is followed by the sacerdotal prayer, benediction and imposition of hands. The Pauline salutation is followed by the dialogue between deacon and the penitents. The penitential psalm is recited by the priest. Then follows the response of the people "God alone is holy".²⁴

17. ORIGEN, *De Oratione* 28, PG 2, 528-529.

18. DENZINGER, *Ritus Orientalium*, Wurzburg, 1869, Vol. I, p. 436-438; BRIGHTMAN, F. E., *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, p. 181-184.

19. RAES, A., "Rite pénitentiel avant la communion," in *L'Orient Syrien* 101 (1965) 100-109.

20. LIGIER, L., "Le sacrement de pénitence selon la tradition Orientale", p.170.

21. MATEOS, J., "Sedré et prières connexes dans quelques anciennes collections", in *OCP* 28, 2 (1962) 239-287.

22. The deprecativ form of prayer was the common feature of the Eastern as well as Western Churches till the early Middle Ages. Cf. GOGAN, G., "Penance, Rites of the West Syrian Liturgy: Some Liturgical and Theological Implications" in *ITQ* 42 (1975) 182-196.

23. DALMAIS, I.H., "Le sacrement de pénitence chez les Orientaux", p.23ff; DENZINGER, *Ritus Orientalium*, vol. I, p. 440-448.

24. RAES A., "Rite pénitentiel avant la communion", p. 115-116.

4. The Armenians and Their Liturgy²⁵

They have a larger structure for the penitential celebration.²⁶ The canons of the Council of Sathapivan (444 A D) govern the whole penitential system.²⁷ The whole penitential service has two sections. One is making of the penance and another rite of reconciliatory service on Holy Thursday. Each of the rites of penitential celebration have two parts.²⁸ These are the office performed at the church door and the rites done in the church at the foot of the altar. The structure, though it is longer, is almost the same as the West Syrian celebration except the kneeling and the prostration of the penitents, with the phylson (the clothing of the penitents). They have more recitation of psalms and hymns as well as scriptural readings both outside the church and inside the church. There is the exorcism and recitation of the

creed before entering into the church²⁹. All the Oriental Churches give much emphasis to the healing power of the Word of God as to the sacrament of penance.³⁰ The origin of the private penance among the Armenians might have been connected with the administration of viaticum (10th century). The eleventh century manuscripts give hints to this fact.³¹ They contain first self-accusation in general confession and then the penitents answer to the questions put forward by the priest which is followed by penance and absolution.³² Anointing of the sick was performed both for mortal and venial sins from the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries following the example of St. James. It was done to the penitents both sick and healthy, for the forgiveness of sins. The general confession with absolution of all by the regular formula of absolution existed in the fourteenth century. They

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25. TONNEAU, R. P. R., "Rite primitif du bapteme", in *L'Orient Syrien* 1, 3 (1056) 435-344, p. 336-341.
 26. CARR, E., "Penance among the Armenians" in *SL* 2, 2 (1976) 65-99; RAES, A., "Les rites de la penitence chez les Armeniens", in *OCP* 13 (1947) 648-655.
 27. CARR, E. "Penance among the Armenians", p. 65-66. It is the canon of St. Thadeus which is most known as ancient. But the book of canonical advice on the confessional matters by Dawit of Ganjak (+ 1140-1141). merits much. In the fourteenth century, Movses Erzingaci has his advice on the confession. Finally the canons of the Council of Sis (1342) guide the ecclesiastical practices on penance. The canons of the second Nicaea (tenth century) and the canons of St. Sahak as well as the letters of Catholicos are other sources.
 28. CARR, E., "Penance among the Armenians", p. 90-91. That have four services: public penance, private penance, anointing of the sick and general confession with absolution.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 83-84.
 30. FINKENZELLED, J., "Die Heilsbedeutung von Wort and Sacrament in Christlichen Kirchen", in *Munchener Theologische Zeitschrift* 38,3 (1987) 223-239.
 31. CARR, E., "Penance among the Armenians", p. 91.
 32. *Ibid.*, p. 92-93. It is at the time of patriarch Movses Erzingaci (1305) that a penitentiary with the list of sins was formed.

have different forms for this usage.³³

5. The East Syrian and Malabar Liturgy

It is informative to go through the East Syrian practice of reconciliation as well as that of the Malabar Church. The rite of Hussaya attributed to Isho Yabh III has its own tradition.³⁴ This individual Church also practised the private confession.³⁵ The early existence of private confession is testified by Mar Aphrahates³⁶. The reconciliation of the apostatized was often in the community service. Other sinners too were absolved in the communal liturgy.³⁷ The General rule was that the petition for the forgiveness of sins is to be done in the context of a communal liturgy. Today it is followed by the East Syrian Nestorians. The Catholic Chaldeans and the Thomas Christians practise the Western form of auricular confession³⁸. The structure of their ritual can be given as follows: they begin the service with "Our Father" which is followed by two psalms. Then they have the hymn (Onitha) with incense. The deacon proclaims the intentions of the prayers, which is followed by the

Trisagion and the word of God, that is psalms. Finally the imposition of hands and absolution³⁹. Their penitential service is parallel to the structure of their baptismal ritual⁴⁰.

In these penitential rites of Oriental liturgies and especially the Syrian liturgies the service of reconciliation is normally between the "Our Father" and the "Holy of Holies". Some of them do it after the "Holy of Holies." The principal prayer and actions which make sense at that time are the prayer of absolution, penitence and the request for the forgiveness with the admonition done by the deacon to introduce it. These prayers are preceded by an action of inclination. These two prayers have an intimate relation. Ligier - in his famous article on this⁴¹ shows that this prayer of inclination is always in view of the communion of the Holy mysteries. There is at the same time, if not before the whole, a benediction. As we have mentioned, the benediction followed by the penitential prayer, finds its tradition in the Jewish rites of the Old Testament.⁴² Anyhow it is a true rite of expiation, propitiation and penitence.

33. DALMAIS, I. H., "Le sacrement de pénitence chez les Orientaux", p.25; LAMP, T. J., "Absolution chez les Arméniens", in DTC 1 (1930) p. 211; PETIT, L., "Arménie, Croyance et discipline", in DTC 1,2 (1931) 1954-1958.

34. TONNEAU, R. P. R., "Rite primitif du baptême", p. 340; DE VRIES, W; *Theologie bei de Nestorianern*, Rome, 1947, p. 265-280.

35. DALMAIS, I. H., "Le sacrement de pénitence chez les Orientaux", p.22. He is of the opinion that the East Syrians were ignorant of the rite of private penance (confession).

36. MAR APHRAHATES, *Demonstratio VII*, PS 1, 315ff.

37. DENZINGER, H., *Ritus Orientalium*, vol. I, p. 467-471.

38. DALMAIS, I. H., "Le sacrement de pénitence chez les Orientaux", p. 23.

39. TONNEAU, R. P. R., "Rite primitif du baptême", p. 340-343.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 342. It is also based on the patristic teaching that penance is a second baptism.

41. LIGIER, I., "Pénitence et eucharistie en Orient", in OCP 29 (1963)5-78.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 48-62.

At the end of this penitential rite, the "Holy of Holies is a natural conclusion. There is also the inclusion of the "Our Father" which generally is at the opening. It is a very ancient practice in the Oriental liturgies that there is the significant inclusion of "Our Father" with the phrase of "Forgive our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us". It implies the request for pardon of faults against the charity or against the community.⁴³

It is relevant to see the parallel rites of baptism and rite of reconciliation among the East Syrians. 1. There is a close resemblance between these two rites.⁴⁴ It will be clear when we analyze the structure of these rites. For the East Syrians, penance is considered as the second baptism.⁴⁵ The rituals of the East Syrians are edited by Joseph Kelaitha.⁴⁶ The reason of the resemblance in structure may be due to the formation of them by the same patriarch Isho Yabh III. The first prayer in both is "Our Father". It is the normal custom of the Orientals, i. e. to begin all liturgical ceremonies with "Our Father", Our Lord's prayer. After "Our Father" we have the prayer in both Chouraya and psalms.⁴⁷ They recite psalms always in chorus. The only difference here is that the penitential rite has more psalms. The Chouraya prayer concludes with a prayer according to the need of the penitential ritual. 2. There is an imposition of hands

in the ritual of baptism, followed by anointing. Now the penitential service does not have it. 3. The penitents join the catechumens for the singing of the Onitha. Both rituals have the same and a prayer. It is in correspondence with the West Syrian celebration wherein it is called the Qala. After the prayer, the catechumens and the penitents together say another prayer. 4. Then there is the recitation of psalm with Canona. The penitential rite has more psalms with Canona. It is followed by a prayer in both rites. While the baptismal rite has Karozusa and the proclamation of the deacon with the recitation of another psalm and prayer, the penitential rite has it later. 5. The penitential rite has the thechbohatha prayer, which we do not find in the other. 6. The Trisagion is a common feature in both. It is followed by the proclamation of the deacon and Karozusa when there is a communion service. For this the Kyrie Eleison or Mar an et-rahem alein is sung. The baptismal ritual has the Lakumara which is the confession of the Lordship of Christ, which is followed by the epistle and Gospel readings. There is a Karozusa also. This Lakumara hymn is sung for the forgiving and benevolent attitude of Christ to sinners. This is proper to East Syrians and found in all their offices. The Laku Mara prayer goes back to the synagogal liturgy and prayer.⁴⁸ After the Trisagion comes the penitential ritual. 7. The imposition of hands with anointing on

43. RAES, A., "Rite pénitentiel avant la communion", p. 116.

44. TONNEAU, R. P. R., "Rite primitif du baptême", p. 342-344.

45. MAR EPHREM, Homily on Penance, (Johnstene, ET), in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. XII, p. 330-341.

46. KELAITHA, J., The Liturgy of the Church of the East, Mosul, 1928, p. 174-180.

47. TONNEAU, R. P. R., "Rite primitif du baptême", p. 335-344.

48. VELLIAN, Qurbana Oru Patanam, Kottayam, 1982, p. 86-91.

those apostatized is followed. In the baptismal ritual also we see the imposition of hands and a second anointing. It is worth mentioning that the penitential rite does not have the Word of God other than the recitation of psalms. The West Syrians do have the readings from the epistle and the Gospel. The West Syrians have also the Proemion and Sedre which include incensing.⁴⁹ The imposition of hands is common to all. 8. While the catechumens present themselves for baptism, the penitents both in the East and West Syrians go to present themselves to the bishop or the priest who are in charge of them, to receive the absolution. In all those we can

see common traits and their own individuality. Perhaps it is to keep a particular nature that the East Syrians have the recitation of psalm in the place of other scriptural readings, which differentiate them from the West Syrians. But when we think of the healing effect of the Word of God, it is opportune to include the words of Jesus too. For, penitence, according to them, is a mystery of healing. But the psalms substitute it. Another speciality is the prayer of the faithful. It explicates the full involvement of the faithful in the service. The anointing is only done if the sinner is an apostate.⁵⁰

6. Structure of the Three Rites⁵¹.

| <i>Absolution East Syrian</i> | <i>Baptism East Syrian</i> | <i>Absolution West Syrian</i> |
|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1. Our Father and the prayer followed | Same | Nil |
| 2. Chouraya, double psalm with chorus and prayer | Chouraya One psalm and the rest the same | Chouraya double psalm rest the same |
| 3. Nil | Nil | Proemion and sedre |
| 4. Nil | First imposition of hands and anointing | Nil |
| 5. Hymn (Onitha), prayer | Same | Hymn (Qala), prayer |

49. MATEOS, J., "Sedr  et pri res connexes dans quelques anciennes collections", p. 239-287; RAES, A., "Le rite de la confession chez les Malenkares", in OCP 16 (1950) 448-459.

50. BADGER, G. P., *The Nestorians and Their Rituals*, p. 159. "It is worthy of remark that whilst the sacerdotal authority of the priest to absolve is most unquestionably maintained by the Nestorians (East Syrians), the direct form of absolution is not to be met with in any of their rituals".

1. TONNEAU, R. P. R., "Rite primitif du bapt me", p. 344.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 6. Psalm with canona | Double psalm with canona, proclamation of deacon, prayer, Qala and Karozusa, psalm | Nil |
| 7. Lakumaran, Techbutha, | Lakumara, Trisagion, Epistle, Hymn, Gospel, Hymn, Karozusa | Trisagion, Epistle Hymn, Gospel, Hymn |
| 8. Deacon's proclamation Trisagion, Karozusa | Nil | Nil |
| 9. Imposition of hands Anointing, (sign of the cross) | Imposition of hands and anointing | Imposition of hands |
| 10. Absolution | Baptism | Absolution |

This picture shows the similarity and dissimilarity among these three rites. The penitential rite of the East Syrians is more similar to their baptismal rite. They do not have the incensing in both rites. The penitential rite of the East Syrians lack the readings from the Gospel and the epistle.

The penitential discipline of the Eastern Churches is to be understood as a part of their spirituality. Though each individual Eastern Church may vary in its penitential discipline, there are some features that are common

to all Eastern traditions,⁵² which in general terms, the Second Vatican Council acknowledged to be of equal right and dignity with that of the Western Church, and decreed to be preserved and fostered⁵³. Despite all the differences, the rite of penance (private) in the different individual Eastern Churches, has their origin in a communal liturgy. So naturally these rites bear a corporate worship. It is high time for the 'Mar Thoma Nazaranies' to restore and introduce this very ancient tradition of communiterian celebration of the sacrament of reconciliation.

M. Anikuzhikattil

52. LIGIER, L., "Le sacrament de pénitence selon la tradition Orientale", p. 940-967.

53. SC, art 4.

Eschatological Dimension of the Syro - Malabar Qurbana

By eschatology is meant the doctrine on the last things. It is very often understood in an individualistic way. Christian eschatology should be viewed in the perspective of history of salvation. This history is moving to its end at which God's salvific plan will reach its fulfilment. The end of the world will be the victory of Christ which will come about by a free intervention of God.

The death and resurrection of Christ marked the inauguration of the final era of the world. The promise of his return implied that the end of the world would occur in two stages.

The present age is the final stage in which the new order of things exists fully in Christ and in a hidden way in the world. The aim of this period is to offer men the occasion to cooperate with the new order and to help it to penetrate into the world. The second coming of Christ will mark the second stage which will manifest fully the new order in the world. Then He will bring all to completion. When He comes again, all men will rise again with their bodies. There will happen to us what happened to Christ in his resurrection which is the cause and model of our resurrection. The hope of his second coming helps us to view the world and human activities in a proper

perspective. Liturgy, especially the Eucharist, gives expression to this hope. Holy Communion is the pledge and the preparation for our resurrection. We shall examine how the text of the Qurbana presents the eschatological realities. This study will serve to elucidate the predominant theological characteristic of the Qurbana.

I. Eschatology inherent in the very theology of the Eucharist

Eschatological hope is inherent in the very nature of the Eucharist which is the sacrifice of the new Israel that has been called into being as the eschatological community. The Eucharist possesses three dimensions: 1) It is a commemorative sign, since it recalls the whole history of salvation, beginning from the creation and especially Christ's death and resurrection, as the prayers of the Qurbana indicate: "May Christ who offered himself in sacrifice for our salvation and commanded us to celebrate the memorial of his passion, death, burial and resurrection..."¹. 2) It is a demonstrative sign, because it is a ritual reenactment of Christ's sacrifice through which He continues to save us and in which we work out our salvation through the active participation and 3) It is a prognostic sign because it enkindles in us the great hope of

1. *Taksa* 60, 19. Cf. also *Id.* 31.

the final manifestation of our Lord. G. Dix expounds well the above given characteristic of the Eucharist in the following words:

It is the solemn proclamation of the Lord's death, but it is also familiar intercourse of Jesus abiding in the soul, as a friend who enters in and sups with a friend. It fulfils the past, as the true and the secret manna, the meaning of all sacrifice, the truth of all pass-overs. But it also looks forward to the future beyond the end of time, as a mysterious anticipation of the final judgement of God, a foretaste of the eternal Messianic banquet of heaven, a tasting of the powers of the world to come.²

The Jewish Pasch, which was the prefiguration of the New Testament Pasch and the Last Supper in which the holy Eucharist was instituted also possessed these eschatological dimensions. The fourth cup of the paschal meal, designated as the cup of Elias, evoked in the participants the vehement hope of God's future intervention in favour of Israel in order to liberate them from the bondage and to establish the kingdom of God definitively. Overwhelmed with the hope of the Messianic salvation they kept vigil during paschal nights as they did during the first Pasch of Egypt with the expectation that He would appear. The intensity with which they cherished this Messianic hope of salvation is apparent in their prayers. For example, the second berakah of the Tefillah which is one of their most important prayers reads:

Thou art mighty forever, Yahweh, thou causest the dew to fall... who sustainest the living with loving kindness quickenest the dead with great joy.³

The Last Supper also anticipated the future, because it was intrinsically related to the bloody sacrifice of the cross from which it drew its efficacy.

LAST THINGS AS VIEWED IN THE QURBANA

The very intrinsically eschatological nature of the Eucharist is expressed in different ways in the Qurbana.

a) Parousia

As J. Jeremias says, every Eucharistic celebration renews implicitly the expectation that the end of the world will dawn at God's intervention in history through the advent of the Messiah:

The death of the Lord is not proclaimed at every celebration of the meal as a past event, but as an eschatological event, as the beginning of the new covenant. The proclamation of the death of Jesus ... expresses the vicarious death of Jesus as the beginning of salvation time and prays for the coming of the consummation. As often as the death of the Lord is proclaimed at the Lord's Supper, and the Maranatha rises upwards, God is reminded of the unfulfilled climax of the work of salvation until he comes.⁴

This is probably the reason why many liturgies, including that of Nestorius

2. Dix, *The shape of the Liturgy* (London 1970²) 4

3. L. BOUYER, *Eucharist*, Theology and spirituality of the Eucharistic prayer (Notre Dame 1968) 72.

4. J. JEREMIAS, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London 1974) 253; M. THURIAN, *The Eucharistic Memorial* II 66.

in the East Syrian Church,⁵ add the remembrance of the second coming of Christ to the commemoration of the death and resurrection in the anamnesis.

There are explicit references to the parousia in the text of the Qurbana. Reciting in the Credo, "He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead" it is giving expression to the essential element of our Christian faith, which makes us await earnestly the return of our Lord. J. Jeremias observes that the command of our Lord, "Do this in memory of me," constitutes an eschatologically oriented instruction: "Keep joining yourself as a redeemed community by the table rite that in this way God may be daily implored to bring about the consummation in the parousia."⁶ That the Church celebrates the Eucharist, with a tension towards the Second coming and in a milieu of the eschatological objective, becomes manifest in her prayers as de Raze of the fifth Sunday of resurrection testifies:

We commemorate his death until his coming. We celebrate in the bread and wine the memorial of Christ who suffered for us, as it was written. We sanctify our body and purify our consciences from double and crafty thoughts that we may not be accused when he will come and judge the world.⁷

Under the inspiration of I Co II, 26 the Qurbana reminds that the Eucharistic celebration will cease to be at the parousia, which marks the

realization of the eschatological hope to which the Eucharist tends: "He offers himself for us on our altar till his glorious second coming. Therefore; let us approach him and offer this sacrifice with the hope of eternal bliss."⁸

The Eucharistic community, that prays for the return of the Lord, anticipates that hour by reciting the jubilant Hosanna which serves as the form of greeting at the parousia: "Hosanna in the highest. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is he that has come and is to come in the name of the Lord."⁹ Its use on Palm Sunday as a form of greeting to Christ and its use in the early Church with an eschatological bias, throw ample light on its wide connotation.¹⁰ That also the later Judaism interpreted the hallel Psalm 118, 26a, which Jesus used in Lk 13, 35, in an eschatologico-Messianic sense and that the people of Jerusalem proclaimed it with the greeting word "Hosanna" as the antiphonal song in the same meaning, corroborates the conclusion that by reciting "Hosanna" with "Benedictus" the Eucharistic assembly relates itself with the second coming of our Lord.¹¹ The following prayer shows how the adorers are strengthened in the hope that they will find grace through the sacrifice to sing divine praise eternally: "So that when you shall manifest yourself at the end of time in that humanity of ours which you assumed, we may find grace and mercy in your sight and be made worthy to sing your praise with the hosts of

5. *Prex Eucharistica*, ed. A. HANGGI -I. PAHL, (Freiburg 1968) 391-392.

6. J. JEREMIAS, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* 225.

7. *Supplementum* 101.

8. *Taksa* 60, 96.

9. *Taksa* 60, 28-29.

10. Cf. D. MELLHAGGA, *Hosanna*, in *SL* 5 (1966) 129-150; *Didache* 10, 6 = Jürgens 3; EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.23.14.

11. J. JEREMIAS, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* 256-262.

angels."¹² With this hope the community often supplicates that they be granted the grace to greet Christ at His second coming: "Make us all worthy to meet you with confidence at your second coming, and offer you praise with the hosts of angels."¹³ The secret sacerdotal prayer said during the dialogue prayer in the postanaphora explicates how the Holy Communion enkindles the hope of the parousia: "that we who have been united to the body and blood of your Christ may, together with all the saints, shine brightly at his great and glorious manifestation."¹⁴

The Eucharist is the sacramental parousia of our Lord and the manifestation of him who is to come. The oldest available Aramaic prayer Maranatha "Come Lord Jesus" which was said at the end of the Eucharistic liturgy even as early as in Didache 10,6 elucidates this dimension of the Eucharist. It points backwards to Christ's appearance at the common meal of the community and forwards to his appearance at the end.¹⁵ Commenting on the Maranatha, J. Danielou says:

It voices the strongly eschatological attitude of the Jewish Chris-

tian community... this ancient prayer is both a recalling of his appearance on the day of the resurrection, and an appeal for its renewal at the moment of the Holy Supper, and an announcement of his final parousia, which is also to take place in the setting of the Messianic feast."¹⁶

By letting this prayer "Come, Lord Jesus" to be uttered by the congregation as a response in the karo-zutha during the season of advent, the Malabar Qurbana endorses the eschatological dimension not only of the Eucharistic celebration but also especially of this season which both commemorates with thanksgiving the bodily birth of Christ and looks forward with hope and joy to Christ's parousia.¹⁷

The great veneration that the East Syrians have for the cross, which for them is the symbol of the resurrection and the victory of Christ¹⁸ rather than that of his suffering, is closely connected with the eschatological hope which it arouses because the liturgical tradition and authors like Narsai, Ephrem, Ebedjesu and Iso Dad of Merv believe that the appearance of the cross will immediately precede the manifestation of Christ on

12. *Taksa* 60, 24.

13. *Id.* 49.

14. *Taksa* 60, 43.

15. O. CULLMANN, *Early Christian Worship* (London 1978) 13-20.

16. J. DANIELOU, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London 1964) 336-337. The meaning of Maranatha has been debated. Theodore translated it: "The Lord has come;" breaking it up into "Maranatha" which makes it an affirmation of the coming of Messiah; but it seems more likely that it ought to be divided into Marana tha, and translated: "Come, Lord" In revelation 22, 20 the expression Marana tha looks like a Greek translation of this phrase and the Aramaic form appears in 1 Co 16, 22. Cf. *Jerusalem Bible*, New Testament, P. 310, n. 1; J. DANIELOU, *The Theology* 336; O. CULLMANN notes that in Rev. 22, 20 Maranatha is imperative and not indicative, "Our Lord is coming," in *Early Christian Worship* 13; W. KASPER, *Jesus the Christ* (London 1976) 153.

17. F. O. BECK, *The Faith for all seasons* (Illinois 1971) XVI.

18. Cf. *Supplementum* 90, 106 and 243-245.

the last day.¹⁹ We find the same reference to the eschatological meaning of the cross in the Qurbana: "Christ our resurrection and hope, we request you to make us worthy to stand at your right side when you will come on clouds with the sign of the cross."²⁰ Explaining the period of Elia which precedes immediately the feast of the cross the Hudra says: "Before the revelation of Christ, Elia will come to argue with the son of perdition and to reveal his sin. Then there will appear the Holy Cross."²¹ It is also very significant that the Feast of the Cross which specially recalls the victorious second coming of our Lord is celebrated after the season of Kaita, which symbolizes the spread and the flourishing of the Church, as a fulfilment of Church's tension towards its final consummation of the parousia.

This belief in the parousia took a practical dimension in the daily custom of the East Syrians as they arose early in the morning to meditate on the parousia with the belief that it would take place in a morning. The remnant of this practice is noticeable in the canonical hours: "Let us sanctify here that morning, the greatest of all, because behold, he will come then and will raise us up soon."²²

The custom of praying turned towards the East is connected with the belief that Christ will appear in the East at parousia. As at Tayib would claim the disciples recommended to do the genuflection towards the East because the coming of the Lord is awaited from the East.²³ Supporting Timothy I who located the place of paradise and the Second Coming in the East, Ebedjesu says:

This custom is therefore profitable in two ways; first because it stirs up the resemblance of the end, and of the judgement to come, which is a preservative against evil; and secondly, because it brings to mind our old place from which we were driven out on account of our sins, that is, paradise, which is situated in the East, and thereby we are led to lay hold on repentance. It is written in the commentaries of St. Ephrem that the angel Gabriel appeared to the virgin from the East and when he said unto her "Hail, thou highly," she worshipped at his salutation towards the East. And when our Lord ascended up to heaven, His face was turned towards the West... The disciples were before Him, and looking at Him ascending,

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19. Cf. G. P. BADGER, *The Nestorians and their Rituals* II (London 1852) 414. J. S. ASSEMANI, *Ephraem Syrus, Opera Omnia* III 373; D. GILSON, *The Commentaries of Iso Dad of Merv* I 93; A. MINGANA, *Opera* I 321; EBED JESU, *Liber Margaritae* 361-362. If the Jewish background of the Malabar Church is considered, it is quite possible that the veneration of the cross with the eschatological symbolism was inherited by her from the Jewish Christianity, because it believed that the cross accompanied Christ in His resurrection and ascension and that it would appear at the parousia (J. DANIELOU, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* 266-292).
20. *Taksa* 68, 95. 96; *Supplementum* 244; *Bedjan* I 270; P. GIGNOUX, *Les Doctrines eschatologiques de Narsai*, in, *OS* 11 (1966) 468-475.
21. *Bedjan* III 292.
22. *Id.* 278. 302.
23. At Tayib 93.

worshipped Him towards the East.²⁴

The crucifix which is hung on the walls of a Christian house recalls of the custom of praying towards the East and eschatological expectation since it began with the practice of painting the cross on the eastern wall of the house in order to indicate the direction in which one had to pray.²⁵ It is for the same reason that the Malabar Churches are built in the East-West direction in such a way that during the divine service the congregation turns to the eastern side where the altar is placed. If the rich symbolism of turning towards the East is taken into consideration as the outward expression of the eschatological hope of the Second Coming of Christ, it is in conformity with the spirit of the East Syrian liturgy that people and the celebrant turn towards the East during the Eucharistic celebration. The Qurbana, facing the congregation, which is aimed at displaying the social and communitarian spirit, was never the practice of the East Syrian Church and, is not in complete conformity with the genuine spirit of the liturgy. Besides, in the following discussion the Qurbana is shown to be amply rich in its social and communitarian spirit even though the priest does

not face the people during the Eucharistic celebration which is only one of the means of expressing and fostering such a spirit.

b) Resurrection of the Body

Closely connected with the expectation of the parousia is the faith in the resurrection.

The Eucharist is designated as a life-giving mystery,²⁶ the gift of life,²⁷ bread of life²⁸ and the pledge of new life.²⁹ Thus the thanksgiving prayer says: "May this gift which we have received ... for the new life in the kingdom of heaven."³⁰ This new life which is expected as the positive fruit of Holy Communion alludes indirectly to its negative effect of remission of sins which destroy the life of grace in the recipient.

As several prayers indicate, the life which the Eucharist promises is the eternal life: "Let us approach the pure sacrifice without end and inherit the eternal, interminable and immortal life."³¹ This expectation is based on the promise of Christ who assured: "If you do not eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood you have no life in you. He who feeds on my flesh and drinks my blood has life eternal and I will raise him up

24. EBEDJESU, *Liber Margaritae* 361 (Badger II 413); Cf. *Supplementum* 104 J. DANIELOU, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* 269.

25. E. PETERSON, *La Croce e la preghiera verso l'Oriente*, in *EL* 59 (1945) 52. Turning towards the East which is a common gesture in religious function among the Malabarians illustrates the eschatological character of their Christian life.

26. *Taksa* 60, 60. Cf. also *Id.* 23. 37. 40. 50 and 52.

27. *Supplementum* 76.

28. *Id.* 43.

29. *Id.* 103. 146. 157.

30. *Taksa* 60, 51.

31. *Supplementum* 161. Cf. *Id.* 191; *Taksa* 60, 22. 48.

on the last day.”³² The reasoning is simple: The body of Christ is a genuine food. The purpose of food is to give life. Christ’s life is the divine life. By eating the food which is Christ’s Body, the participants are united to His life which is eternal life.³³ While explaining the effects of the Holy Communion G. Qatraya says that the participation in the holy mysteries is the symbol of the participation with Him in the kingdom of heaven and that the Communion indicates the Communion which one will have with Christ in the coming world.³⁴ Since the Eucharist is the spiritual food, it should nurture the spiritual life of the soul until it reaches its definitive maturity in heaven. The risen life which one already possesses through Baptism should grow by means of his daily living. As long as he is on earth he should continue to grow and the sacrament of continuous progress is the Eucharist, which will terminate consequently at the parousia, marking the realization of eschatological hope to which it tends. This is the theological background of the following prayer: “... these glorious and holy and life-giving and divine mysteries are placed and ordered on the propitious altar until the second coming of our Lord.”³⁵

It can also be noted that the effect of the Eucharist is described in phrases like “pledge of immortality,”³⁶

“Pledge of interminable life”³⁷ and pledge of life without end.”³⁸ It seems that this idea of “pledge” became predominant in the prayers mainly because of Theodore who in his Eucharistic catechesis describes the Eucharist as the spiritual food through which one receives the first fruits of the grace of the Holy Spirit as the pledge of the immortal life to be obtained after resurrection. The real food of the soul in heaven is the grace of the Holy Spirit and the Eucharist is the spiritual food of the soul which sustains it in the foretaste of the immortal life.³⁹ Since it is fully capable of leading the participants efficiently to the immortal existence, it can be rightly called the pledge of immortality.⁴⁰

The Eucharist leads to the resurrection. Though according to biological law the food is assimilated by the one eating it, what happens in the Holy Communion is to the contrary: He who eats the Eucharist is assimilated by the one who is being consumed. Thus by eating the Holy Eucharist which is the risen Christ, the communicant becomes a risen man. As the following citation testifies the Qurbana reiterates the hope that the reception of Holy Communion is the pledge of resurrection. The epiclesis says: “May He bless it and hallow it that it may be unto us, Lord for

32. *Jn* 66, 53–54.

33. A. M. ROUGET, *Holy Mass, Approaches to the Mystery* (Collegeville 1974) 93.

34. G. Qatraya 103–104.

35. *Taksa* 60, 19–20.

36. *Supplementum* 196.

37. *Id.* 249

38. *Id.* 140.

39. Cf. Reine 28–32, 35–39; W. De VRIES. *Das eschatologische Heil bei Theodor von Mopsuestia*, in *OCP* 24 (1958) 309–388.

40. F. J. REINE, *The Eucharistic Doctrine and Liturgy of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Washington 1942) 28–32, 35–39.

the great hope of the resurrection from the dead."⁴¹

Resurrection is not merely a future event but is a partial reality because the faithful have risen with Christ in Baptism. Daily they grow in the image of the crucified Christ and the crucifixion is the prelude to resurrection. By eating His body they proclaim his death (1 Co 11,26), by drinking His blood they seal the New Covenant and drink of the one spirit who leads them to the glory of Christ (Rm 8,12-17). Thus their incorporation with Christ in Baptism, their union with Him in the Eucharist and their gradual spiritualization under the action of the Spirit are all connected with the second coming and with the resurrection.⁴²

Faith in the resurrection of the body is expressed in many prayers of the Qurbana. For example, the karo-zutha before the Holy Communion exhorts: "Let us have hope in the resurrection and in the new life in the kingdom of heaven."⁴³ What is the basis for this faith in the resurrection of the dead to which abundant references are found in the prayers of the Qurbana? The response sounds thus: "Behold, the dead have fallen asleep in the hope that through your glorious resurrection you will raise them up again in glory."⁴⁴ His resurrection affects us profoundly in the

sense that His resurrection is the pledge of our own resurrection⁴⁵ and that it has no practical bearing unless connected with the hope of our future resurrection. In the words of Moltmann, the proclamation of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead makes sense only in the eschatological horizon of the resurrection of the dead;⁴⁶ the redemptive triumph of Christ which has not been fully disclosed will be fully realized only in the general resurrection.

As to the nature of the resurrection as expounded in the Qurbana the Credo and many other prayers speak of the resurrection of bodies whereas other prayers distinguish between body and soul as in the lakumara: "For thou art the quickner of our bodies and the saviour of our souls."⁴⁷ It would be out of place to read into the text the dichotomy of the body and soul, but it would be better to apply here the original biblical concept of the resurrection which embraces the whole man. Body (soma) is not something that man has, but what he is and is therefore equivalent to the word "personality."⁴⁸ Jews did not conceive the resurrection of the body as divorced from this life, but as a continuation of it, and therefore, they could not conceive the fulness of eternal life without the body. Since life was not only a present reality but would also last

41. *Taksa* 60, 34-35. Cf. also p. 41.51 and 53; *Taksa* 68,83.106; *Supplementum* 49 and 56.

42. T. FITZGERALD, *The Influence of the Holy Eucharist on the bodily Resurrection* (Rome 1965) 14.

43. *Taksa* 60,42; Cf. also *Id.* 21; *Supplementum* 48.

44. *Taksa* 60,20. Cf. *Supplementum* 49.

45. B. McNIL, *Raised for our Justification*, in *ITQ* 42 (1975) 97-105.

46. J. MOLTSMANN, *The Crucified Jesus* (London 1977) 172; G. O. COLLINS, *The Easter Jesus* (London 1976) III.

47. *Taksa* 60, 7.

48. M. PERRY, *The Resurrection of Man* (London 1975) 119.

for ever, it naturally entails resurrection.⁴⁹ As McKenzie says, the Jewish anthropology made it impossible for them to conceive of any life detached from the body.⁵⁰ Hebrews did not make a distinction between body and soul, between two essential constitutive principles, one which is immortal and the other doomed to destruction. It is the whole man who dies and man is a unity. They knew indeed that life was not identified with the body alone. The dead man still a soul but bereft of substance and Strength. Hence, McKenzie concludes: "The only form of survival of which the Hebrew could conceive was a restoration of the only life it knew, the resurrection of the body."⁵¹ The teaching of Jesus who presents Himself as the life and resurrection (Jn 11, 25-26) forms a natural progression: "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has life everlasting, and I will raise him up on the last day" (Jn 6, 54). After an exhaustive study of this verse Fitzgerald concludes rightly:

In John 6:54 the sacred author is teaching that the reception of the Eucharist will bring the whole man, body and soul, to glorious resurrection. This follows from John's Semitic conception of salvation, a conception that includes both body and soul. Thus, when John writes "I will raise him up on the last day," he is not distinguishing between body and

soul. As a Hebrew, he is speaking of a concrete being.⁵²

The investigation of the effects of the Eucharist on the body as such and on the soul as such is a later theological speculation based on the Greek philosophy and therefore one should be beware of reading later philosophical and theological distinction on the original text.⁵³

According to Scripture, the body is so vital to man that a being without a body after death is unthinkable. Collins rightly observes that for St. Paul soma refers to the whole physical being, the bodily person in his entirety and signifies personal identity or human selfhood, and so he can very well interchange questions dealing with resurrection of the body and with that of the dead.⁵⁴ But the body which describes the whole man and not just a part is not conceived as a figure enclosed in itself but understood in his relation to God and to his fellow man since body is the possibility and the reality of communication.⁵⁵ The conclusion from what has been so far said is that the Qurbana wants to underline the resurrection of the whole man, especially with his possibility of communication with God and fellow men even when it mentions body and soul separately. This conclusion is corroborated by other prayers which refer to the resurrection of the whole person without making mention

49. T. Fitzgerald 14.

50. J. L. McKENZIE, *The Two-Edged Sword* (Milwaukee 1955) 251.

51. J. L. McKENZIE, *The Two-Edged Sword* (Milwaukee 1955) 252.

52. T. Fitzgerald 21.

53. C. DAVIS, *The Study of Theology* (London 1964) 13-16.

54. G. O. COLLINS, *The Easter Jesus* (London 1976) 112. It was to stress the idea that Christ saves and will raise up the whole man that the early Church emphasized the resurrection of the flesh (Id. III-116; M. PERRY, *The Resurrection of Man* (London 1975) 115-122.

55. W. KASPER, *Jesus the Christ* (London 1976) 150.

of body and soul, as in the final huthama which quotes Lord's words: "I will raise him up on the last day and he will not be condemned but will pass on from death to everlasting life."⁵⁶

Although no definite solution has been arrived at in Scholastic speculations on the material identity of the earthly and glorified body or the composition of the resurrected body, Scriptural teaching is emphatic in holding a personal somatic continuity⁵⁷ which means that the same man who lives in this world will one day obtain glory at resurrection.⁵⁸

c) Last Judgement

The parousia and the general resurrection of the dead are closely associated with the final judgement in which all mankind will gather together to hear the words of condemnation or consolation according to the divine justice.⁵⁹ The Church devotes the liturgical season of Elia to symbolize particularly the end of time and the Last Judgement and to prepare the faithful for the same especially by advising them to purify themselves through the works of penance.⁶⁰

d) End of the world

According to the sacred Scriptures the end of the world is closely connected with the universal judgement,⁶¹ the resurrection of the dead,⁶²

and the parousia.⁶³ As the following prayer indicates the assembly eagerly awaits the last day: "When God crowns them on the last day, let us be also received with them into the kingdom of heaven".⁶⁴

2. Eschatological tension of the pilgrim Church

The Church as the community of the baptized faithful moves towards the day of the Lord to which the Eucharist points. There will be a community on the way until the end of history. Her members remain sinners and should fight with the kingdom of darkness until she wins the final victory at the parousia. She is the new Israel who, being promised the land of heaven as her final destination, pilgrimages in the desert of the world. Although the early Syriac Fathers were chiefly preoccupied with the last things they possessed always the right perspective of the Church as being in her interim halfway stage. For example, the demonstrations of Aphraates especially the treatises on resurrection (Dem. VIII), the last things (Id. XXII), Monks (Id. VI), his meditations in Dem. V, XIX and XXIII as well as *Liber Graduum* abounds with the eschatological themes in which they present a very systematic account of the Church's relationship to her heavenly fulfilment. The Church as an existing reality in interim period enjoys a double characteristic: It remains entirely a part

56. *Taksa* 60, 53.

57. M. PERRY, *The Resurrection of Man* 121.

58. G. O. COLLINS, *The Easter Jesus* 113.

59. *Mt* 25, 31-46; *Ac* 17, 30; *Rm* 2, 5-8; *2 Pe* 3, 7; *Rv* 20, 12.

60. Bedjan III 257. 258 and 289. The prayers of the Qurbana deal with the different aspects of the Last Judgement. Cf. *Taksa* 60, 27; *Supplementum* 40.48.49.74.101.126.158 and 197.

61. *Mt* 13, 39; *2 Pe* 3, 3-4.

62. *Jn* 6, 39.

63. *1 Co* 15, 22-28.

64. *Taksa* 60, 17; Cf. *Id.* 24.

of the present and at the same time belongs by her nature to the future. It is eschatological from the point of view of its destiny but belongs to the present in the entirety of its elements and appearances. How the Qurbana brings out the 'already' and 'not yet' characteristics of the Church is examined here below.

a) Church as the kingdom

The Syriac term "Malkuzha" (Kingdom) which the Syriac Fathers applied to the Church from the very early times testifies that they considered the Church in an eschatological sense.⁶⁵ For example, when Aphraates illustrates the wide connotations of Malkuzha by saying that the Christians are already the sons of the kingdom who have yet to obtain their inheritance at the parousia, he means that the Church, though it is already the kingdom, cannot be fully identified with the perfect kingdom which will be fully realized only in heaven at the parousia.⁶⁶ St. Ephrem represents the same trend of thought when he considers the kingdom as the final stage of the threefold symbolic scheme: the past history is the stage of types (raze). It relates to the second stage called "srara," the time of the Church, which itself awaits its fulfilment in its eschatological kingdom.⁶⁷ He puts the same idea in the following way: The type was in Egypt, the reality in the Church, the sealing of the reward (will be) in the kingdom.⁶⁸ Therefore, this schematic presentation of the

three stages depicts the Church in an interim stage which itself means for her a challenge to be what she is destined to be. In this background of the East Syrian theological reflection, it can be better evaluated how the Qurbana views the Church in her tension towards her final destiny.

There are many prayers which employ the term "kingdom of heaven" to denote the earthly Church: "My brethren, receive the body of the Son and drink His chalice with faith in the kingdom of heaven, says the Church."⁶⁹

Although the Church is not the kingdom of God which is to come,⁷⁰ it is already in the reign of Christ who remains with it until the consummation of the world. The Church as the eschatological community of salvation makes the pilgrimage under the reign of Christ which is visibly operative in it. Therefore, the Qurbana reads: "Lord, who live in the Church always according to the promise that you will be with us unto the consummation of the world lead her to the eternal bliss."⁷¹ Christ is present in the Church through the common faith, through the proclamation of the Word, through the administration of the sacrament and sacramentals, especially in the Eucharistic species in an eminent way, through the pastors who guide the flock and in the assembled liturgical community according to the divine promise that where two or three are gathered together in His

65. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom* (Cambridge 1975) 239-249.

66. *Dem.* V 232, 15-234, 1.

67. E. BECK, *Symbol-Mysterium bei Aphraat und Ephrem*, in *OCh.* 42 (1958) 26-34.

68. *H Azym* 5,23 = *CSCO* 248, Syr. 108, p. 12.

69. *Taksa* 60. 47; Cf. *Supplementum* 15.

70. HANS KUNG, *The Church* (New York 1976) 127-134; W. KASPER; *Jesus the Christ* 75.

71. *Taksa* 68, 98.

name He will be in the midst of them (Mt 18, 20).⁷²

Christ is present and operative in the Church through the Holy Spirit, who is the personified power with which Christ reigns over the Church, and the liturgy is the privileged place of the presence of Christ and of the Holy Spirit in the Church.⁷³ The presence of the Holy Spirit whom the Father sends in the name of Christ (Jn 14, 16.26), whom Christ sends from the Father (Jn 15, 26), and who is the agent of the permanent presence of the Lord in the Church is not merely functional in relation to the work of Christ. He is present personally and is active in the Church which He makes conformable to Christ. He witnesses to Christ, permits us to invoke Him, makes Him present and makes us like Him.⁷⁴

As the following prayer shows, it is God Himself who works in the Church which is the body of Christ and the temple of the Holy Spirit and leads her to her final glory through the ecclesiastical authority: "God, who give Popes and bishops as the pastors in order to lead the Church..."⁷⁵

b) Imageries of the way and the voyage

The chief among the imageries which the East Syrian literature employs to illustrate the pilgrim nature of the Church is that of the way.⁷⁶ For example, St. Ephrem who identifies the whole history of salvation with "way" divides it into three stages: from Eden to Zion, from Zion to the Holy Church and from the Church to the kingdom.⁷⁷ The first two stages were the times of types or symbols and the third stage which leads to the heavenly kingdom is the time of the Church in which life is imparted through the Eucharist.⁷⁸

Another figure abundantly used to elucidate the same idea is the imagery of the ship of the Church sailing to the heavenly haven,⁷⁹ to which numerous references are made in the canonical hours and in the propers of the Qurbana with its eschatological meaning.⁸⁰ Narsai gives a beautiful picture of this imagery in his 32 end homily:

In the ship of the Church, He stands and gives warning night and days; and He keeps it from

72. Cf. CSL n. 7; N. LASH, *His Presence in the World. A Study in Eucharistic Worship and Theology* (London 1974) 140-154; E. LUSSIER, *Getting to know the Eucharist* (New York 1974) 112-125.

73. A. CUVA, *La Presenza di Cristo nella Liturgia* (Roma 1973) 187-194.

74. E. LUSSIER, *Getting to Know the Eucharist* (New York 1974) 97.

75. *Taksa* 60, 71

76. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom* 246-253.

77. *Hc Haer* 26, 4 CSCO 169, Sy. 76, tr. E. BECK (Louvain 1957) 96.

78. *H Fide* 66, 24: CSCO 155, Sy. 74, tr. E. BECK (Louvain 1955) 180.

79. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom* 249-253; J. DANIELOU, *Primitive Christian Symbols* (London 1964) 59-70.

80. Cf. Qala I, II, XI and XX (Bedjan II 44.12.43.92.178 and 179). The ceremony called "coming to the harbour" with its eschatological meaning is common in Syriac liturgies (E. R. HAMBYE, *The Symbol of the Coming to the Harbour in the Syrian Liturgies*, in *Symposium Syriacum 1972*, OCA 197 (Roma 1974) 401-411. In the night office of Holy Monday there is a procession in the East Syrian liturgy which seems to be the remnant of this ceremony (Cf. Bedjan II 334; J. Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra* 206-210).

the harm of the wind of evildoers. He is an exceedingly skilful steersman amid the billows; and He knows how to sail to the harbour of life without end. With rudders of the Spirit He steers the reasonable ship; and He makes straight their course to the harbour of life that is hidden in the height⁸¹.

c) Church as Bride and Queen

The abundant use of the imageries of Bride and Queen in their eschatological sense in the Qurbana is derived from the rich biblical heritage and from the East Syrian literature from the time of Aphraates and Ephrem onwards.⁸²

The title Hatna (bridegroom) was quite a favoured title by which early Syrian ascetics gave expression to their strong attachment to Christ with whom they awaited a personal union in the eschatological wedding feast and thereafter in the heavenly bridal chamber.⁸³ The numerous prayers which speak of the relation between individual soul and Christ in the Qurbana seems to have been employed to depict the individual soul as the bride who craves for union with Christ, the Bridegroom. Thus the anthem of the sanctuary says: "Account us worthy, my Lord,

with the saints to sing to thee in the bridal chamber of thy kingdom, glory, to thee."⁸⁴ The meaning is not different when the term bride is applied to all of the faithful, as given below: "You, the baptized, sing a song of praise. Dance, rejoice at the bridegroom with whom you should experience joyful hours in the Jerusalem above."⁸⁵

The Church is described as the Bride of Christ, Bride of Jesus our Saviour, Bride of Jesus the High Priest etc.⁸⁶ Christ presents her with the Holy Mysteries of His body and blood as wedding gift⁸⁷ and God the Father bestows upon her the ineffable beauty: "Clasp the hands, sing praises, Church the Queen, daughter of light, shine and enjoy, for thy whole beauty originates from thy Father."⁸⁸ By mentioning that Christ adorns her with the garments of great splendour woven by the Holy Spirit which will never wear out, the liturgy wants to acknowledge the beauty of supernatural grace with which she is adorned. This is the meaning of the reference to the "adorned bride" in the Qurbana. For example, "your loving Church like a beautifully adorned bride and like a mother who enjoys with her children... rejoices at your resurrection."⁸⁹ The word *kallta* which refers to the crowning

81. Narsai 65.

82. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and kingdom* 131-144. 256-257; H. ENGBERDING, *Die Kirche als Braut in der ostsyrischen Liturgie*, in *OCP* 3 (1937) 5-48; R. GRAFFIN, *Recherches sur le thème de l'Eglise Epouse dans les liturgies et la littérature patristique de langue syriaque*, in *OS* 3 (1958) 317-336; W. De VRIES, *Der Kirchenbegriff der von Rom getrennten Syrer*, *OCA* 145 (Roma 1955) 172-174.

83. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom* 133-135.

84. *LEW* 254; *Taksa* 60, 54-55.

85. *Bedjan I*, 426.

86. *Bedjan III* 411.416.419.420.421.422. Cf. also *id.* 391.397.398.403.410.423.430. 432.436.438; *Id. I* 411.409.419 and 438.

87. *Id. III* 397. 431 *passim*.

88. *Id. I* 403.

89. *Taksa* 68,83-84; *Bedjan III* 432.

at the wedding ceremony corroborates the bridal nature of the Church: "We will praise you and glorify you unceasingly in your Church crowned like a spouse, replete with all things and every kind of help."⁹⁰

The Church appears in the liturgy as the Bride in need of divine help and at the same time reflects the glory which Christ radiates upon her. In the liturgy she celebrates in advance the marriage of the Lamb for which she prepares herself on earth and this bond of marriage will be consummated fully only at the second coming (Rv. 19,7-9). This idea has been elucidated through the imagery of the reception of the bride into the house and the marriage feast.

The marriage ceremony is generally concluded with the introduction of the bride into the bridal pair's house and into the bridal chamber which are indicated by the words *ܠܝܬܝܬܐܝܠܗܐ*, *ܠܚܝܬܐܝܠܗܐ*. The qualification given to the bridal chamber such as spiritual,⁹¹ not made with hands,⁹² imperishable,⁹³ chamber of light,⁹⁴ and the most high which is indescribable,⁹⁵ signify that it stands for heaven the reality of which is repeatedly mentioned in the prayers: "Our Lord has set up a spiritual bridal chamber for the Church."⁹⁶

As the following commentary of Brisk-Iso says, the season of the

dedication of the Church anticipates and liturgically celebrates the final glorification of the Church in her eternal bridal chamber.

Ishoyahb codified the weeks of the dedication of the Church at the end of the liturgical year, after the advent of Elia (and Moses) and the defeat of the son of perdition. Then the heavenly bridegroom will appear from the holy and glorious heavens, will resurrect all from the dust, will take the good into heaven and will cast the evil ones out to the hell; Christ's bride, the holy Church, saints and believers, will start to receive Him with joy, praising and glorifying Him with all honour. The real bridegroom and our Saviour Jesus will accept His bride, the Church and will take her up with Him to heaven. He will lead her into the eternal bridal chamber and will make her sit at his right hand. He will make her happy with His vision and will make her joy eternal and everlasting bliss.⁹⁷

In order to explain the eschatological glory of the Church, the liturgy makes use of the imageries of feast which usually follows the solemn reception of the couples into the bridal pair's house: "He has invited me into that chamber of the kingdom, to that unending feast meal."⁹⁸ That such an allegorization of the heavenly life

90. *Taksa* 60,7; Bedjan III 434: "He has adorned you with a glorious crown." *Id.* 432: "The Son of God has crowned the Church when He has taken her to Himself as Bride with brightness and glory."

91. Bedjan I 408.

92. *Id.* II 449

93. *Id.* III 411

94. *Id.* 397

95. *Id.* 425. 429.

96. *Id.* 342. 411. 420. 427. 434.

97. Cf. C. PAYNGOT, in *Kathiroli* 12/2 (1973) 10.

98. Bedjan III 429.

under the imagery of feast goes back in the East Syrian literature to an early period is evidenced by Aphraates.⁹⁹ Since this banquet is reported to take place after the resurrection, the reference here is evidently to the heavenly banquet but the features are notable. The imagery comes from Mt 25,10, the cup of salvation from Mt. 22,1-4; the laid table from Pro 9,4; the bridegroom's arrival from Ps. 116,13; all these are generally connected with the Eucharist.¹⁰⁰

The Holy Eucharist is this marriage feast of the earthly Church. Therefore, the priest says after the Communion: "O heavenly Spouse, you have prepared the chalice of your blood for the guests at your banquet"¹⁰¹. The meal character of the Eucharist is a prognostic sign of the supper of eternal life. The parables of the wedding feast in heaven (Mt. 8,11; 25-10-13; Lk 14,15) are realized in the Eucharist as prefiguring and preparing for the eternal banquet of the Lamb with his Bride (Rv. 19,6-9).¹⁰² The species of wine most clearly points to the heavenly banquet, if it is associated with the words of Jesus: "I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God is come." (Lk 22,18). As manna, which prefigured the Eucharist was the food with which God fed his people in the

desert and was a pledge for the promised land, the Eucharist is the meal of the Messianic times and the anticipation of the wedding feast of the kingdom.¹⁰³ It is the announcement of the life to come and the present enjoyment of it.¹⁰⁴

d) Heavenly Jerusalem

Another imagery describing the Church in her final glory is that of Jerusalem above (Gal 4,26).¹⁰⁵ The whole aspiration of our spiritual life is to attain it, as is prayed in the final huthama: "Make us worthy of the magnificent glory of his kingdom of happiness to stand at his right hand in the Jerusalem on high."¹⁰⁶

e) Paradise

The Eucharist is the figure of the food of which the Apocalypse makes mention: "Those who prove victorious I will feed from the tree of life set in God's paradise" (Rv 2, 7), and it arouses the hope to attain the bliss of this paradise. Therefore, the priest says after the Communion: "Make us who have received your body from the paten and drunk your blood from the chalice worthy to sing your praises with the thief in paradise..."¹⁰⁷ But paradise which is a state of indescribable bliss is not to be consi-

99. Dem. VI *De Monachis* Ps 1/1 265, 23-268,6: "And for those who do the will of God the gate is opened and the way is well-trodden, the spring is flowing and giving drink to the thirsty, the table is laid and the marriage feast prepared. The fatted ox is slain and the cup of salvation mixed, the banquet is prepared, the bridegroom has arrived to take His place."

100. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom* 256-257.

101. *Taksa* 60,46. Cf. *Supplementum* 35: "..... in the nuptial feast of the bridegroom his living body is distributed."

102. B. HARING, *The Sacraments in a Secular Age* (Slough, England 1976) 144.

103. O. CULLMANN, *Early Christian Worship* 96.

104. A. G. MARTIMORT, *The Sign of the New Covenant* (Collegeville 1966) 202-204.

105. *Bedjan I*, 408.

106. *Taksa* 60, 53; Cf. *Taksa* 68, 91; *Supplementum* 20.

107. *Taksa* 60, 50

dered as a reality to be only hoped for in an uncertain future but as St. Ephrem says, it is anticipated in the Church which is the fulfilment of the promise made in the original paradise and is the type of the eschatological paradise.¹⁰⁸ The paradisaical state described in the first chapter of Genesis figures the divine-human friendship which is hoped for in the eschatological paradise of heaven.

§ 3. Anticipation of the eschatological benefits

The future kingdom, the total consummation of God's reign over us has already begun in the Eucharist which is the anticipation of Christ's coming at the parousia. Christ's real presence in the Eucharist is the sign, the certitude and the anticipation of our own real presence in heaven, a presence inaugurated sacramentally in the communion of the Spirit and in the final adoption of the Father.¹⁰⁹ The risen and present Lord of the Church who stands in the midst of the community points to His second coming. Bar Zo'bi says that the incense which is burnt during the lakumara is the symbol of the future felicity promised to the one who believes in him.¹¹⁰ There is a co-relation between the heavenly paradise, kingdom, heavenly Church on the one hand and the Christian life on the other, which is promised entry into the former or which actually anticipates it. The Christian life which enjoys the foretaste of future glory tends towards the end with the awareness of what has

already been prepared for and with vigilance towards the given opportunities.¹¹¹

Vigilance for the present opportunities and the courage to resist the temptations occupy the central place among the eschatological virtues. One is vigilant, if he recognizes the coming of the Lord in his talents and in the needs of his fellowmen and of the community. Negligence to respond to the grace offered at the present moment means a futile life.

Although the recipient does not experience in this world the effects of the food of immortality which will be awarded only in heaven, as Theodore says, the actual participation renders the eschatological reality present in figure and symbol: "We walk by faith and not yet in the heavenly benefits. We wait here in faith until we ascend into heaven and set out on our journey to our Lord, where we shall not see through a glass and in a riddle, but shall see him face of face."¹¹²

True vigilance and the use of the present moment entails a healthy detachment from all superficial clinging to traditions, laws and customs and then only can she exploit and profit from the richness of the present hour. Thus she expresses her hope in the new heaven and new earth which will be revealed at the Lord's second coming.

This gift of faith enriches every Christian with joy, because he experi-

108. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom* 257-261.

109. N. LASH, *His Presence in the World* (London 1974) 101.

110. Bar Zo'bi 398.

111. B. HARING, *The Sacraments in a Secular Age* (Slough 1976) 131.

112. A. MINGANA (ed) *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and Eucharist*, woodbrooke studies 6, Cambridge (1933) 82.

ences the future already in anticipation. Faith brings the redemptive significance to the present which prepares the participants for the future. In the light of hope, the past becomes the guarantee of the future and the future illumines the present. This conviction makes us say: "We rejoice, glorify, exalt..."¹¹³ This spirit of joy is tangible throughout the prayers of the Qurbana. For example, the prayer on the Friday of the third week of the resurrection reads: "Our heart rejoices in Him. The cross of Christ destroys sin that destroyed our nature. And the multitude of onlookers wondered at the victory which he brought over the powerful by the wood: man hanging on the cross overcomes Satan and corruptible death."¹¹⁴

The firm faith that Christ abides in the midst of His people and guides them is a valid ground for the hope expressed throughout the Qurbana: "The mighty Lord is with us, our king is with us, and our God is with us, and the God of Jacob is our help."¹¹⁵ Thus the message of hope that the Qurbana extends is based on our relationship with God and Christ.

The time of the Church which is the period between Christ's first and second coming is the time of hope and vigilance. The first coming of Jesus is the sign of the hope of His second coming. In all that He has done and specially in His Church, Christ is the sacrament which impels one to look forward to the happy fulfilment of his hopes when the

splendour of the great God and Saviour Jesus Christ will appear (Tit 2, 13). The Church is the sacrament of this intermediate period to the extent that her visible life displays vigilance for the good use of the present moment, and her dynamism is commensurate with her thanksgiving for the first coming and the expected parousia of Christ.¹¹⁶

The Eucharist effects an intimate union with God. According to Leviticus, blood signifies the victim immolated and the body indicates the same victim as consumed in honour of God and participated by the offerers.¹¹⁷ In such a perspective the body and blood of Christ represent the sacrificial economy of the whole life of Christ or of the whole mystery of His death and resurrection. As the aim of any sacrificial meal is to unite oneself with the victim of the sacrifice, the participants unite themselves with Christ through the sharing in His body and blood. In this Eucharistic koinonia Christ comes to them and unites them with Him or they go to Him and unite themselves with Him through His Paschal mystery. The final huthama recalls this intimate union offered by Jesus by quoting the words of Jesus: "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood lives on in me and I in Him." (Jn 6, 56). Abiding in love which St. Paul qualifies as putting on of Christ is the most conceivable union with Christ: "The blessed cup that we bless is a communion with the blood of Christ, and the bread that we break is a communion with the body of Christ."

113. *Taksa* 60, 30.

114. *Supplementum* 98.

115. *Taksa* 60, 20; Cf also *Id.* 1 and *Supplementum* 36.

116. B. HARING, *The Sacraments in a Secular Age* 86.

117. L. LIGIER, *Il Sacramento dell' Eucaristia* (Roma 1977) 278-279.

(1 Co, 10, 16). The sharing in Christ's life means consequently a participation in the redemptive work of Christ. This sharing of common life in Christ means that the participants have to develop within themselves Christ's outlook, attitude, reaction and commitment to the Father's will. The *koinonia*, which means literally possessing something in common, signifies a common life in Christ through the Holy Spirit, for Christ says: "As I who am sent by the living Father, myself draw life from the Father, so also whoever eats me will draw life from me." (Jn 6, 57). The life which the Son receives from the Father passes on to the faithful in the Eucharist and thus the union of the faithful with Christ is beautifully realized in the Eucharist.

The Eucharist is the sacrament of love not only because it recalls what God has done in favour of mankind but also because it communicates the love of God to the participants. Since the Eucharist gives Christ to them as their food, it infuses in them with the love of God. They absorb Him and they are assimilated to Him, since love seeks most intimate union and assimilation. It intensifies the love of God in them ¹¹⁸

The beatific vision which the just will enjoy in paradise is the continuation and perfection of that union with God which has already begun on earth with baptism and strengthened in the Eucharist. ¹¹⁹

Dr. Thomas Mannooramparampil

118. A.M. ROUGET, *Holy Mass* 60-61; E. CARENTI, *La vita spirituale nella Liturgia eucaristica* (Bari 1967) 144-154.

119. A. RUDONI, *Escatologia* 214-217.

Book Reviews

Osana to Resurrection, Holy Week Celebration in the Syro Malabar Church, translated by *Varghese Pathikulangara CMI*, published by the Denha publications Services, Vidyanagar, Manganam, Kottayam 10, printed at the Dharmaram School of Printing, Bangalore, December 1990, Rs. 52 (\$ 10. 40).

Father Varghese Pathikulangara CMI who has done significant service to the Syro Malabar Church in finding out and returning to the genuine ecclesial traditions, specially with his masterly work, "Resurrection, Life and Renewal" following the tradition of his renowned forbears comes to our help once again by presenting to all lovers of East Syrian Liturgy the translation of the Liturgy of the Hours of the Holy Week and the Propria for the Eucharistic Celebration. He presents this work in gratitude for the completion of his fiftieth birthday. The work is published by the Denha Services which also is doing its best to restore the genuine ecclesial traditions of the Syro Malabar Church.

"As the author rightly remarks, "liturgy is the celebration of one's Christian existence." It is at the same time the celebration of the faith of a church. In either case, the mystery of the Resurrection and of the Eucharist becomes the central point of Christian life. This is amply clear from the book that is before us for review. The biblical references, true to east syrian tradition, have been taken from the Pesitha. The author expresses the hope that when the Syro Malabar Church is trying to restore and renew her authentic liturgical heritage, either lost or mutilated during the colonial and imperialistic period, this translation can be a real help.

This hope, I believe, is very real and realizable, because through the vicissitudes of history, not only the (ordinary) faithful, but even the clergy have neglected the study of and consequently lost any proficiency in syriac, the liturgical language. This translation, will therefore, help them to understand the real texts for the celebration of the solemnities of the Holy Week.

In n. IX, the author gives suggestions for the possible rearrangement for the principal feasts of the passion-week and hopes that this will help for the renewal of the liturgy for the passion week of the Syro-Malabar liturgy.

I wish the book wide readership from our clergy and the reader God's choicest blessings.

Fr Joseph Koikakudy
Paurastya Vidyapitham,
Kottayam 686 010

Petro B. T. Bilaniuk: *The Apostolic Origin of the Ukrainian Church*. Parma, Ohio 44134, Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Catholic Parish, 6810 Broadway Road (U. S. A.). 1988, 208 pages, paperback, n. p.

In 1988, the Ukrainians, both Orthodox and Catholic, celebrated the millennium of the historic event by which Grand-Prince St. Volodymyr, the Equal of the Apostles, made Christianity the State religion of his realm. Invited by the pastor and the parishioners who form as editors, the author made a deep study of the origins of the Church of what is now called Ukraine.

The results of his research are of great importance for a genuine understanding of her history. He shows that many peoples have lived on Ukrainian lands in the course of history and that Christians have been present there since apostolic or early post-apostolic times. This is why he gives the first of the ten chapters of this book the title "The Concept of Apostolicity". In the following chapters he concentrates first on the pre-Christian religion of the Eastern Slavs, the biblical witness and the archaeological evidence to the apostolic origin of the Ukrainian Church. Taking into consideration further aspects, he turns his attention to the patristic witness, the early ecumenical councils and the hagiographical resources. Already in 1963, the then Major Archbishop Kyr Iosyf Slipyi had presented himself as the successor to those bishops "from our Ukrainian lands of the Ancient Kievan Rus'-Ukraine", Theophilus, the bishop of the Goths, and Cadmeus, the bishop of the Bosphorus Kingdom of southern Ukraine where the liberty of Christian faith had reigned even before the Edict of Milan." The author, a married priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, professor of theology at the University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, Canada, demonstrates extensively that the presence of those hierarchs in the first ecumenical council of Nicaea was not at all an isolated episode, but that Ukraine was represented also in the other councils of the first millennium which were decisive in the formulation of the orthodox faith of the Catholic Church. The last three chapters deal with the Scythian monks and the Christian West, the historical evidence to the apostolic origin of the Ukrainian Church and the role sacred beauty and religious art exercised on the ancient people of Ukraine then called Rusychi. He closes his work with a stern admonition from the Spiritual Testament of the Confessor of Faith, Kyr Iosyf Slipyi: "Remember that when a people forget or lose their knowledge of their past with its spiritual treasures, they die, disappear from the face of the earth. Indigenous scholarship raises a people to flight to the heights of the universe, among other mature peoples." This work is warmly recommended to all those interested in history, but to theologians, too, who may get a lot of inspiration also from the enriching notes.

J. Madey

Dietrich Freydank / Gottfried Sturm / Jutta Harney (Editors): *Das Väterbuch des Kiewer Höhlenklosters*. Graz-Wien-Köln: Verlag Styria, 1989, 390 pp., 48 reproductions of woodcuts from the Slav printed edition of 1661, cloth DM 49,00 / Austr. S 350,00.

The year 1988 was marked by the celebrations of the millennium of the "Baptism of Kievan Rus". On this occasion, the publishing firm Koehler and Amelang of Leipzig published this work before giving permission for a licensed edition to the Austrian publishing house Styria. It is for the first time, that this collection of narratives regarding the founders and first monks of the famous Kievan Monastery of the Caves was published in its entire form in German. The separate narratives were collected as early as in the 13th century and printed at Kiev in 1681. They reflect well the time of the first times giving witness to great humility, charity, sacrifice courage, faithfulness, but also of vices like covetousness, hatred and contempt. For everybody not able to read and understand the Old-Slavonic language of the original, this edition is a precious historical document.

John Madey

Lothar Heister : *Die georgische orthodoxe Kirche und ihr Glaubenszeugnis* (=Sophia. Quellen östlicher Theologie, Band 26), Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1989, 248 pp., 32 coloured illustrations, cloth DM 68,00.

"Let each one give the holy and divine kiss of peace to his neighbour ..." or "Let us love one another that with one mind we may confess" is the adominton of the deacon before the kiss of peace in the Syro-Antiochean and Byzantine Divine Liturgies. The author will enable us to do it with conscience, as man can love only those things and persons he knows. After having acquainted his readers, i. a., with the Armenian Church, he now leads them to widely unknown Georgia which, in the course of history, has suffered so much for maintaining her faithfulness to her Christian faith. Many occupations and attempts of civil and religious colonialism had to be endured. This is why the first part of the book is mainly historical. Thereafter the author is concentrating on Georgia's religious art and literature, before he makes an approach to the characteristic marks of the expression of faith in which is very well reflected what is called "inculturation" in our days. Rev. Dr. Heiser entitles the three sections as follows: I. God the Vine-Dresser, II. Christ the Vine, III. The grape-vines and their fruits. Many quotations from the sources give the work a vivid appearance. We whole heartedly welcome it recommending it to many readers. Annotations, indications of sources and literature as well as the description of the illustrations conclude this precious volume.

John Madey

Panayiotis Nellas: *Deification in Christ: Orthodox Perspectives on the Nature of the Human Person*. Translated from the Greek by Norman Russel, with a foreword by Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia (= Contemporary Greek Theologians, 5), Crestwood, NY 10707: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1987, 254 pp. paperback \$ 12.95.

This work deals with main themes of the patristic approach to christian anthropology. The author who sadly did not live to see the appearance of the English translation of his work, studies first synthetically, throughout the whole range of patristic literature, then in a single father, and in a service from the Byzantine liturgy the greatness of man's vocation found in the fact that he is "called to be a god." The Church Fathers gave much emphasis to the insight that man realizes his true existence in the measure in which he is raised towards God and united in him. The attentive reader will "recognize how delicate is the question of the human person and how central to all theology" (Bishop Kallistos). The study is divided in three large parts: I. The Image of God and the "Garments of Skin", where the author presents certain central aspects of the teaching of the Fathers on man and on the relationship between the church and the world; II. The spiritual life in Christ, where he develops the christocentric anthropology of St. Nicolas Kavalas, III. The anthropological and cosmological context of union with God, which studies the service of the great canon and its implications (the "Great Canon" is authored by St. Andrew of Crete, 7th/8th cent., and is sung at Matins of Thursday in the 5th week of Great Lent). In an fourth part, the author adds texts authored by some Church Fathers: St. Irenaios of Lyons, St. Gregory the Theologian, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Maximos the Confessor, St. Nicolas Kavalas and St. Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain (= Athos), related to the topic of his work. Thus he clearly demonstrates the internal consistency of eastern christian understanding of man and his relation to God and

the world. A rich bibliography, glossary, index of patristic texts and index of subjects (and persons) close this recommendable work.

John Madey

John Baggeley: *Doors of Perception – icons and their spiritual significance*, with an appendix by RICHARD TEMPLE. Crestwood, NY 10707: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1988, 166 pp., paperback \$ 12. 95.

The author, a clergyman of the Church of England, has widely travelled studying the art of the Byzantine Orthodox East. In his introduction, he says, "Icons form a door into the divine realm, a meeting point of divine grace and human need; moreover, they are also a way by which we enter more deeply into the interior life". This insight leads him to offer Christians of other traditions (not only western) an entry to understanding some of the significance and spirituality implied in the tradition of eastern iconography. He speaks about the beginnings, the triumph of orthodoxy at the time of iconoclasm, deals with the biblical language, on allegory and influence of Alexandrian Christianity, the spirituality of the icon painters, the visual language of icons and their environment. Richard Temple contributed an essay on the painting of icons together with many of the reproduced full colour plates to accompany the author's commentary. – The book appeared in a separate edition for Great Britain in 1987 and was published by Mowbrays, Oxford.

J. Madey

Francis House: *Millenium of Faith: Christianity in Russia AD 988–1988*. Crestwood, NY 10707: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1988, 133 pp., \$ 9.95

Fr. Francis House, an Anglican clergyman, who has had a studied interest in the Russian Orthodox Church for more than 50 years, is presenting here a rapid survey of the history of the Russian Church. In the first part, he is dealing with the Russian Churches before the Revolution of 1917 (pp. 3–51), while the second part is devoted to the Christians in the USSR since the Bolshevik Revolution. After a short bibliography indicating main sources and suggestions for further reading, appendix one is entitled "The Russian Orthodox Church and the Church of England"; appendix two renders the "Official Summary of the Rights and Obligations of Religious Societies," as published by the "Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate" (English edition), 1986, no. 1. An index of subjects and persons concludes this book. Whosoever is interested to get a short precise information can consult this readable book.

J. Madey

News

Monsignor Mario Rizzi appointed Nuncio

Pope John Paul II has appointed Monsignor Mario Rizzi as apostolic Nuncio in Bulgaria, elevating him as titular Archbishop of Balneoregium. Ordained a priest to the Archdiocese of Bologna, Italy, Monsignor Rizzi worked in the Congregation for the Oriental Churches. His experience in the Congregation will help him fulfill his new duty successfully.

Monsignor Kattumana Pronuncio

Pope John Paul II has appointed monsignor Abraham Kattumana as Pronuncio of Ghana, Benin and Togo in Africa. Elevated as Archbishop, Monsignor Kattumana is the first to be made Pronuncio from the Syro-Malabar Oriental Church in India. He belongs to the archdiocese of Ernakulam, India.

The Ukrainians meet in Rome

The Synod of the Catholic Ukrainian Church in Russia was convened in Rome recently. Cardinal Lubachivsky expressed the hope that the next Synod could be convened in their homeland.

New Christmas in Russia

The last Christmas was a real celebration of joy for many Christians in Russia. They celebrated it on January 7. After decades of suppression, this year they were free to make a Christmas Tree in Red Square and dance around it. The Patriarch Aleksy II asked in Mosko TV all Christians to feel happy and share their joy with one another.

New Encyclicals

Pope John Paul II has issued two new Encyclicals, *Redemptoris Missio* on the missionary duty of the church and *Centesimus Annus* on the social teaching of the Church. In the decade of Evangelisation 2000, *Redemptoris Missio* gives concrete guidelines for an effective evangelisation. *Centesimus Annus* written to commemorate the centenary of *Rerum Novarum* proposes new perspectives on the social teachings of the Church. In the changing social and political situations in the world, this encyclical outlines the frame for a new, humane and just society.

Rev. Dr. Etturuthyil, Rector of Alwaye Seminary, India

Rev. Dr. Joseph Etturuthil has been appointed Rector of St. Joseph's Pontifical Seminary, Alwaye, India. He belongs to the Latin Archdiocese of Verapoly.

New Cardinals named

Pope John Paul II named 22 new Cardinals, whose names he announced on 29 May 1991, in the consistory held on 28 June 1991. Among them there are 8 Italians, 3 Latin Americans, 2 North Americans, one each from Australia, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Ireland, The Philippines, Romania, Switzerland and Zaire. The name of the Cardinals are:

Abp. Angelo Sodano, Pro-Secretary of State; Abp. Alexandru Todea, Romania; Abp. Pio Laghi, Pro-Prefect of the Cong. for Catholic Education; Abp. Edward I Cassidy, President of the Pont. Council for promoting Christian Unity; Abp. Robert Coffy of Marseilles, France; Abp. Frédéric Etsou-Nzabi-Bamungwabi of Kinshasa, Zaire; Abp. Nicolás de Jesús López Rodríguez of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic; Abp. José T. Sanchez, Secretary for the Cong. for the Evangelization of Peoples, Abp. Virgilio Noè, Coadjutor of the Cardinal Archbishop of the Patriarchal Vatican Basilica; Abp. Antonio Quarracino of Buenos Aires, Argentina; Abp. Fiorenzo Angelini, President of the Pont. Council for Pastoral Assistance to Health Care Workers; Abp. Roger Michael Mahony of Los Angeles, California, U. S. A.; Abp. Juam Jesús Posadas Ocampo of Guadalajara, Mexico; Abp. Anthony Joseph Bevilacqua of Philadelphia of the Latins, U. S. A.; Abp. Giovanni Saldarini of Turin, Italy; Abp. Cahal Brendan Daly of Armagh, Ireland; Abp. Camillo Ruini, Pro-Vicar General of the Diocese of Rome; Bp. Jan Chryzostom Korec of Nitra, Czechoslovakia; Bp. Henri Schwery of Sion, Switzerland; Bp. Georg Maximillian Sterzinsky of Berlin, Germany; Abp. Guido Del Mestri, Apostolic Nuncio; and Rev. Paolo Dezza, S. J.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES PUBLICATIONS

P. B. No. 1 Vadavathoor, Kottayam, Kerala, India.

126. Dr G. Chediath, *Keralathile Kraistava Sabhakal*, 1989, pp. xvi + 408, Rs 40. (m).
127. Peter Kuruthukulangara, *The Feast of the Nativity of our Lord in the Chaldean and Malabar Liturgical Year: A study of the Sources*, 1989, pp. XLVI + 314.
128. Dr G. Chediath, *Mār Māruthāyude Kānōnākal*, 1989, pp. 56, Rs. 3. 50 (m).
129. Jacob Vadakkel, *The East Syrian Anaphora of Mar Theodore of Mopsuestia, Critical edition, English Translation and Study*, 1989, pp. LII + 282, Rs. 50/-
130. S. Kanjiramukalil, *Punaraikya Rekhakal*, 1989, pp. 198, Rs. 18 (m)
131. Dr X. Koodapuzha, *Bharathasabhacharithram*, 1989, pp. 760, Rs. 80 (m).
132. Dr S. Vadakkel, *An Indigenous Missionary Endeavour: A Study focused on the Missionary Society of St. Thomas the Apostle*, 1989, pp. 200
133. J. Poovannikunnel, *The Concept of "Mystery" (Raza) in the Syro-Malabar Qurbana*, 1989, pp. xii + 216 Rs. 38
134. Dr Q. E. Vadaketh, *Kizhakinte Sakshyam - Paurasthyashrama Daivavijnaneeyam*, 1990, pp. xvi + 285, Rs. 30 (m).
135. Dr T. Mannoorampampil, *Syro-Malabar Sabhayude Qurbana Oru Padanam*, 1990, pp. 458, Rs. 45 (m).
136. Dr G. Chediath - Fr G. Appassery, *Dionysius bar Salibi-Arādhana-kramathinte Vyākhyānam* (trans), 1990, p. 4 + 120, Rs 8. 00 (m).
137. Dr J. Kattackal, *Comparative Religion*, 1990, p. 318, Rs 100/-
138. Dr G. Chediath - Fr G. Appassery, *Indiyude Metrapolita Mar Abraham*, 1990, p. 4 + 144, Rs 14. 00
139. Joseph Vazhuthanapally, *Archaeology of Mar Sliba*, Kottayam 1990, pp. xvi + 144
140. M. Vellanikal (ed.), *Bible Vinjanakosam: Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, 1989, pp. 1000, Rs. 200 (m).
141. Xavier Puthenkalam, *Hindu Christian Bhakti*, 1990, p. 156, Rs. 40.
142. Dr G. Chediath (ed), *Socrates, Sabhācharitram* 1990, pp. 562, Rs. 50 (m).
143. Martin Gielen, *St. Thomas the Apostle of India*,
A study of the life and the activity of St. Thomas
in a new perspective. 1990, p. 8 + 302, Rs. 40
144. Dr. G. Chediath, - G. Appassery, *Bar Hebrāya, Sabhā Charitram* (m) 1990. p. 4 + 276, Rs. 24
145. Lonappan Arangassery, *Ecclesial Dimensions of East Syrian Liturgy*, 1990 pp. 160, Rs. 40
146. Dr G. Chediath, *Prarthana Suriani Sabhāyil*, 1991, pp. 280, Rs 25 (m).
147. Andrew Athappilly, *The Local Churches in the Colonial Set-Up*. 1991, Rs 12/-

(m = malayalam)